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ABSTRACT

This small book presents six articles from the journal "Peace, Environment and Education," published by the Peace Education Commission. The articles have been chosen to give a broad range of illustrations of principles and procedures in peace-related education efforts in the 1990s. The contents are as follows: (1) "Education beyond Hate" (Morton Deutsch); (2) "Education beyond Fatalism and Impoverished Social Imagination: Are We Actively Listening to Young People's Voices on the Future?" (Francis P. Hutchinson); (3) "Peace Education across the Curriculum: Some Perspectives from New Zealand" (James Collinge); (4) "The Teaching of Conflict Resolution and Nonviolence in Australian Schools: A Context for Peace Education" (Max Lawson); (5) "Peace Education in Teacher Training: Some Examples" (Hanns-Fred Rathenow); and (6) "Conflict-Mitigation: Philosophy and Methodology" (Jan Oberg). (EH)

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Education beyond fatalism and hate

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EDUCATION BEYOND FATALISM AND HATE

Some Principles and Procedures in Peace-Related Educational Efforts

Editor:
Åke Bjerstedt

Malmö, Sweden: School of Education, 1994

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introduction

The Peace Education Commission (PEC), a subgroup of IPRA (The International Peace Research Association), was established to facilitate international cooperation among individuals interested in peace education and research related to peace education. It defines peace education broadly to include both explicit peace education (dealing, for example, with facts from peace research) and implicit peace education (dealing among other things with how to educate a new generation to acquire peaceable values and attitudes). PEC works with peace education at various educational levels (pre-school, compulsory school, secondary school, higher education), as well as in the general public sector.

The main ambition of PEC is to serve as a useful network for transnational information and support in the peace education area. As aids in this process, PEC now publishes mini-newsletters, reports and a journal, entitled "Peace, Environment and Education".

The present small book brings together six articles from this journal, chosen to give a broad range of illustrations of principles and procedures in peace-related education efforts in the 1990s. My hope is that this selection of texts may be a useful source of information, and stimulate readers to further study of this developing field.

A.B.

EDUCATING BEYOND HATE

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In recent years, it has been increasingly recognized that our schools have to change in basic ways if we are to educate children so that they are *for* rather than *against* one another, so that they develop the ability to resolve their conflicts constructively rather than destructively, so that they are prepared to live in a peaceful world. This recognition has been expressed in a number of interrelated movements: "cooperative learning", "conflict resolution", and "education for peace". In my view, there are four key components in these overlapping movements: cooperative learning, conflict resolution training, the constructive use of controversy in teaching subject-matters, and the creation of dispute resolution centers in the schools. I shall discuss each briefly.

Cooperative Learning

Although cooperative learning has many ancestors and can be traced back for at least two thousand years, it is only in this century that there has been development of a theoretical base, systematic research, and systematic teaching procedures for cooperative learning. There are five key elements involved in cooperative learning (Johnson, Johnson & Holubec, 1986). The most important is *positive interdependence*. Students

must perceive that it is to their advantage if other students learn well and that it is to their disadvantage if others do poorly. This can be achieved in many different ways – e.g., through mutual goals (goal interdependence); division of labor (task interdependence); dividing resources, materials, or information among group members (resource interdependence); and by giving joint rewards (reward interdependence).

In addition, cooperative learning requires *face-to-face interaction* among students in which their positive interdependence can be expressed in behavior. It also requires *individual accountability* of each member of the cooperative learning group to one another for mastering the material to be learned and for providing appropriate support and assistance to each other. Further, it is necessary for the students to be trained in the *interpersonal and small group skills* needed for effective cooperative work in groups. Finally, cooperative learning also involves providing students with the time and procedures for *processing* or analyzing how well their learning groups are functioning and what can be done to improve how they work together. In addition, it is desireable to compose cooperative learning groups so that they are heterogeneous with regard to academic ability, ethnic background, or physical disability.

Hundreds of research studies have been done on the relative impact of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic learning experiences (see Johnson & Johnson, 1983, 1989). The various studies of cooperative learning are quite consistent with one another, and with my theoretical work and early research on cooperation-competition (Deutsch, 1949 a,b), in indicating very favorable effects upon students. They develop a considerably greater commitment, helpfulness, and caring for each other regardless of differences in ability level, ethnic background, gender, social class, or physical disability. They develop more skill in taking the perspective of others, emotionally as well as cognitively. They develop greater self-esteem and a greater sense of being valued by their classmates. They develop more positive attitudes toward learning, toward school, and toward their teachers. They usually learn more in the subjects which they are studying by cooperative learning and they also acquire more of the skills and attitudes which are conducive to effective collaboration with others.

It is evident that cooperative education fosters constructive relations. Moreover, when used by skillful teachers, it can help children to overcome an alienated or hostile orientation to others which they have developed as a result of their prior experiences.

However, it is important to realize that although the concept of cooperative learning is simple, its practice is not. Changing a classroom and school so that they emphasize cooperative learning is a complex and long-term process.

It requires the teachers to learn many new skills: ways of teaching students cooperative skills; how to monitor and intervene in the student work-groups to improve students' collaborative skills; methods of composing student groups and structuring cooperative learning goals so that groups are likely to work well together; how to develop curriculum materials to promote positive interdependence; how to create constructive academic controversies within the cooperative groups; and ways of integrating the cooperative learning with competitive and individualistic learning activities. Commonly, it takes teachers about three or four years before they feel that they are well-skilled in the use of cooperative learning.

There are several myths about cooperative learning that it is well to confront (see Johnson, Johnson & Holubec, 1986, for a more extensive discussion). Four common myths are:

1. *Cooperative learning does not prepare students for the adult world, which is highly competitive.* There are two points to be made: (a) The ability of people to work cooperatively is crucial to building and maintaining stable marriages, families, communities, friendships, work careers, and a peaceful world. Although competition has often been stressed as the key to success in the world of work, the reality is that individual as well as corporate success depends upon effective cooperation and teamwork (Kohn, 1986). (b) Schools, even with extensive cooperative learning, would provide much experience with individual and group competition. The issue is not to eliminate competition and individualism from the schools but to provide a more appropriate balance with cooperation. Despite their exposure to much competition in schools, my impression (Deutsch, 1985) is that schools rarely teach in a systematic way generalizeable skills in how to be an effective competitor.

2. *High-achieving students are penalized by working in heterogeneous cooperative learning groups.* The research evidence clearly indicates that high-achieving students learn at least as much in cooperatively structured classrooms as they do in the more traditional ones. They frequently learn more: teaching less able students often solidifies their own learning; they

learn how to help others and to work collaboratively; and they learn how to be mutually respecting despite differences in ability. This is not to deny that some high-achievers need help from their teachers and their classmates in learning to appreciate the benefits they can obtain from cooperative learning. It should also be recognized that cooperative learning does not imply that high-achievers must learn and work at the same pace as low-achievers. Nor does it imply that high-achievers will lack ample opportunities to work alone or to work cooperatively with other high-achievers.

3. *Grading is unfair in cooperative learning.* There are many ways of creating positive interdependence in cooperative learning groups; group grading is one way but it is not necessary. Even when group grades are used, individual grades may also be used. Although students sometimes complain about grades, complaints appear to be less frequent in co-operative learning classrooms than in the more traditional ones. Students are well able to recognize that how well people do in life is affected by how well they perform as individuals but also how well the groups, teams, corporations, and nations of which they are members perform.

4. *The good students do all the work, the lazy students get a free ride.* A central feature in cooperative learning is individual accountability. If a student is "goofing off", this becomes a problem for the group which, with encouragement and appropriate help from the teacher, the group can usually solve. In solving the problem, the group learns a great deal and the poorly motivated, alienated, withdrawn or reclusive student often benefits enormously as he or she becomes an active participant in cooperative learning.

Conflict Resolution Training

Conflict is an inevitable feature of all social relations. Conflict can take a constructive or destructive course; it can take the form of enlivening controversy or deadly quarrel. There is much to suggest that there is a two-way relation between effective cooperation and constructive conflict resolution. Good cooperative relations facilitate the constructive management of conflict; the ability to handle constructively the inevitable conflicts that occur during cooperation facilitates the survival and

deepening of cooperative relations.

In recent years, conflict resolution training programs have sprouted in a number of schools as well as in industry and in community dispute resolution centers. Here, I focus on such programs in schools. Although I believe these programs are very promising, they are relatively new and little systematic research on their effectiveness has yet been done. There are many different programs and their contents vary as a function of the age group of the students being trained and of their background. Nevertheless, there are some common elements running through most programs.

These common elements, I believe, derive from the recognition that a constructive process of conflict resolution is similar to an effective, cooperative problem-solving process (where the conflict is perceived as the mutual problem to be solved) while a destructive process is similar to a win-lose, competitive struggle (Deutsch, 1973). In effect, most conflict resolution training programs seek to instill the attitudes, knowledge, and skills which are conducive to effective, cooperative problem-solving and to discourage the attitudes and habitual responses which give rise to win-lose struggles. Below I list the central elements which are included in many training programs but I do not have the space to describe the ingenious techniques that are employed in teaching them. The sequence in which they are taught varies as a function of the nature of the group being taught.

1. *Know what type of conflict you are involved in.* There are three major types: the zero-sum conflict (a pure win-lose conflict), the mixed-motive (both can win, both can lose, one can win and the other can lose), and the pure cooperative (both can win or both can lose). It is important to know what kind of conflict you are in because the different types require different types of strategies and tactics (see Walton & McKersie, 1965; Lewicki & Litterer, 1985; Pruitt & Rubin, 1985). The common tendency is for inexperienced parties to define their conflict as "win-lose" even though it is a mixed-motive conflict. Very few conflicts are intrinsically win-lose conflicts but if you misperceive it to be such, you are apt to engage in a competitive, destructive process of conflict resolution. This is so except where there are very strong agreed-upon norms or rules regulating the nature of the competitive interaction (as in competitive games).

The strategies and tactics of the different types of conflict differ. In a

zero-sum conflict one seeks to amass, mobilize, and utilize the various resources of power (Lasswell & Kaplan, 1950) in such a way that one can bring to bear in the conflict more effective, relevant power than one's adversary; or if this is not possible in the initial area of conflict, one seeks to transform the arena of conflict into one in which one's effective power is greater than one's adversary. Thus, if a bully challenges you to a fight because you won't "lend" him money and he is stronger than you (and you cannot amass the power to deter, intimidate, or beat him), you might arrange to change the conflict from a physical confrontation (which you would lose) to a legal confrontation (which you would win) by involving the police or other legal authority. Other strategies and tactics in win-lose conflicts involve outwitting, misleading, seducing, blackmailing, and the various forms of the black arts which have been discussed by Alinsky (1971), Machiavelli (1950), Potter (1965), and Schelling (1960), among others. The strategy and tactics involved in mixed-motive conflicts are discussed below. My emphasis is on the strategy of cooperative problem-solving to find a solution to the conflict which is mutually satisfactory and upon the development and application of mutually-agreed upon fair principles to handle those situations in which the aspirations of both sides cannot be equally realized. The strategy and tactics of the resolution of cooperative conflicts involve primarily cooperative fact-finding and research as well as rational persuasion.

2. *Become aware of the causes and consequences of violence and of the alternatives to violence, even when one is very angry.* Become realistically aware of: how much violence there is; how many young people die from violence; the role of weapons in leading to violence; how frequently homicides are precipitated by arguments; how alcohol and drugs contribute to violence. Become aware of what makes you very angry; learn the healthy and unhealthy ways you have of expressing anger. Learn how to actively channel your anger in ways that are not violent and are not likely to provoke violence from the other. Understand that violence begets violence and that if you "win" an argument by violence, the other will try to get even in some other way. Learn alternatives to violence in dealing with conflict. Prothrow-Smith (1987) has developed a very helpful curriculum for adolescents on the prevention of violence.

3. *Face conflict rather than avoid it.* Recognize that conflict may make you anxious and that you may try to avoid it. Learn the typical defenses you employ to evade conflict – e.g., denial, suppression, becoming overly agreeable, rationalization, postponement, premature conflict resolution. Become aware of the negative consequences of evading a conflict – irritability, tension, persistence of the problem, etc. Learn what kinds of conflicts are best avoided rather than confronted – e.g., conflicts that will evaporate shortly, those that are inherently unresolvable, win-lose conflicts which you are unlikely to win.

4. *Respect yourself and your interests, respect the other and his or her interests.* Personal insecurity and the sense of vulnerability often lead people to define conflicts as "life and death", win-lose struggles even when they are relatively minor, mixed-motive conflicts, and this definition may lead to "conflict avoidance", "premature conflict resolution", or "obsessive involvement in the conflict". Helping students to develop a respect for themselves and their interests enables them to see their conflicts in reasonable proportion and facilitates their constructive confrontation. Helping students to learn to respect the other and the other's interests inhibits the use of competitive tactics of power, coercion, deprecation, and deception which commonly escalate the issues in conflict and often lead to violence.

Valuing oneself and others, as well as respect for the differences between oneself and others, are rooted in the fundamental moral commitment to the principle of universal human dignity. This core value and its derivatives should not only be emphasized in the curricula of many subject matters (e.g., literature, geography, history, social studies) from K through 12, in addition to the conflict-resolution curricula, but also should be learned by students from their observations of how teachers and school administrators treat students and other people in and around the schools.

5. *Distinguish clearly between "interests" and "positions".* Positions may be opposed but interests may not be (Fisher & Ury, 1981). The classic example from Follett (1940) is that of a brother and sister, each of whom wanted the only orange available. The sister wanted the peel of the orange to make marmalade; the brother wanted to eat the inner part. Their positions ("I want the orange") were opposed, their interests were not. Often when conflicting parties reveal their underlying interests, it is possible to find a solution which suits them both.

6. *Explore your interests and the other's interests to identify the common and compatible interests that you both share.* Identifying shared interests makes it easier to deal constructively with the interests that you perceive as being opposed. A full exploration of one another's interests increases empathy and facilitates subsequent problem-solving. For an excellent discussion of how to develop empathy and a sense of shared interests see Schulman and Mekler (1985).

It is evident that when considerable distrust and hostility have developed between the conflicting parties, it may be useful to have third parties help in this process of exploration. The third parties may serve one or more functions. They may serve as facilitators, conciliators (or therapists) who help the parties to control and reduce their distrust and hostility sufficiently to permit them to engage in this process themselves; they may serve as mediators who directly assist the parties in this process or even undertake the exploration for the conflicting parties, doing what the parties are unable or unwilling to do. There has been considerable discussion of such third-party intervention in Folberg and Taylor (1984), Kelman (1972), Kressel (1985), and Rubin (1980).

7. *Define the conflicting interests between oneself and the other as a mutual problem to be solved cooperatively.* Define the conflict in the smallest terms possible, as a "here-now-this" conflict rather than as a conflict between personalities or general principles – e.g., as a conflict about a specific behavior rather than about who is a better person. Diagnose the problem clearly and then creatively seek new options for dealing with the conflict that lead to mutual gain. If no option for mutual gain can be discovered, seek to agree upon a fair rule or procedure for deciding how the conflict will be resolved. However, not all conflicts can be solved to mutual satisfaction even with the most creative thinking. Here, agreement upon a fair procedure that determines who gets his or her way, or seeking help from neutral, third-parties when such an agreement cannot be reached, may be the most constructive resolution possible under the circumstances. See Lewicki and Literrer (1985) for an excellent discussion of the strategy and tactics of integrative bargaining. To the extent that the parties see the possibility of a mutually satisfying agreement, they will be more able to listen to one another in an understanding, empathic manner, and of course, the converse is true too.

8. *In communicating with the other, listen attentively and speak so as to be understood: this requires the active attempt to take the perspective of the other and to check continually one's success in doing so.* One should listen to the other's meaning and emotion in such a way that the other *feels* understood as well as is understood. Similarly, you want to communicate to the other one's thoughts and feelings in such a way that you have good evidence that he or she understands the way you think and feel. The feeling of being understood, as well as effective communication, enormously facilitates constructive resolution.

Johnson and Johnson (1987), Lewicki and Litterer (1985), Prutzman et al (1988), and many others provide excellent discussions and practical exercises relevant to the development of skills in communicating and listening effectively. As a communicator, one wants to be skilled in obtaining and holding the other's attention, in phrasing one's communication so that it is readily comprehended and remembered, and in acquiring the credibility that facilitates acceptance of one's message. Skills in taking the perspective of others and in obtaining feedback about the effectiveness of one's communications are important. Listening actively and effectively entails not only taking the perspective of the other so that one understands the communicator's ideas and feelings but also communicating the desire to understand the other and indicating through paraphrasing one's understanding or through questions what one does not understand. Role reversal seems to be helpful in developing an understanding of the perspective of the other and in providing checks on how effective the communication process has been.

9. *Be alert to the natural tendencies to bias, misperceptions, misjudgments, and stereotyped thinking that commonly occur in oneself as well as the other during heated conflict.* These errors in perception and thought interfere with communication, make empathy difficult, and impair problem-solving. Psychologists can provide a check list of the common forms of misperception and misjudgment occurring during intense conflict. These include black-white thinking, demonizing the other, shortening of one's time-perspective, narrowing of one's range of perceived options, and the fundamental attribution error. The fundamental attribution error is illustrated in the tendency to attribute the aggressive actions of the other to the other's personality while attributing one's own aggressive actions to external circumstances (such as the other's hostile actions). The ability to recognize and admit one's misperceptions and

misjudgments clears the air and facilitates similar acknowledgment by the other. (See Jervis, 1976; Kahnemen, Slovic & Tversky, 1982; Nisbett & Ross, 1980.)

10. *Develop skills for dealing with difficult conflicts so that one is not helpless nor hopeless when confronting those who are more powerful, those who don't want to engage in constructive conflict resolution, or those who use dirty tricks.* Fisher and Ury (1981) have discussed these matters very helpfuly in the final three chapters of their well-known book, *Getting to Yes*. I shall not summarize their discussion but rather emphasize several basic principles. First, it is important to recognize that one becomes less vulnerable to intimidation by a more powerful other, to someone who refuses to cooperate except on his or her terms, or to someone who plays dirty tricks (deceives, welshes on an agreement, personally attacks you, etc.) if you realize that you usually have a choice: you don't have to stay in the relationship with the other. You are more likely to be aware of your freedom to choose between leaving or staying if you feel that there are alternatives to continuing the relationship which you can make acceptable to yourself. The alternative may not be great but it may be better than staying in the relationship. The freedom to choose prevents the other, if he or she benefits from the relationship, from making the relationship unacceptable to you.

Second, it is useful to be open and explicit to the other about what he or she is doing that is upsetting you and to indicate the effects that these actions are having on you. If the other asserts that you have misunderstood or denies doing what you have stated, and if you are not persuaded, be forthright in maintaining that this remains a problem for you: discuss with the other what could be done to remove the problem (your misunderstanding of the other, your need for reassurance, or the other's noxious behavior).

Third, it is wise to avoid reciprocating the other's noxious behavior and to avoid attacking the other personally for his behavior (i.e., criticize the behavior and not the person); doing so often leads to an escalating vicious spiral. It is helpful to look behind the other's noxious behavior with such questions as: "I wonder what you think my reaction is to what you have said?" "I am really curious. What do you think this will gain for you?" It is also sometimes useful to suggest to the other more appropriate or better means for pursuing his interests than the ones that he or she is currently employing.

A phrase that I have found useful in characterizing the stance one should take in difficult (as well as easy) conflicts is to be "firm, fair, and friendly". *Firm* in resisting intimidation, exploitation, and dirty tricks; *fair* in holding to one's moral principles and not reciprocating the other's immoral behavior despite his or her provocations; and *friendly* in the sense that one is willing to initiate and reciprocate cooperation.

11. *Know oneself and how one typically responds in different sorts of conflict situations.* As I have suggested earlier, conflict frequently evokes anxiety. In clinical work, I have found that the anxiety is often based upon unconscious fantasies of being overwhelmed and helpless in the face of the other's aggression or of being so angry and aggressive oneself that one will destroy the other. Different people deal with their anxieties about conflict in different ways. I have found it useful to emphasize five different dimensions of dealing with conflict which can be used to characterize a person's predispositions to respond to conflict. Being aware of one's predispositions may allow one to modify them when they are inappropriate in a given conflict. The five dimensions follow below:

(a) *Conflict avoidance – excessive involvement in conflict.* Conflict avoidance is expressed in denial, repression, suppression, avoidance, and continuing postponement of facing the conflict. Excessive involvement in conflict is sometimes expressed in a "macho" attitude, a chip on one's shoulder, a tendency to seek out conflict to demonstrate that one is not afraid of conflict.

(b) *Hard – soft.* Some people are prone to take a tough, aggressive, dominating, unyielding response to conflict fearing that otherwise they will be taken advantage of and be considered soft. Others are afraid that they will be considered to be mean, hostile, or presumptuous, and as a consequence, they are excessively gentle and unassertive. They often expect the other to "read their minds" and know what they want even though they are not open in expressing their interests.

(c) *Rigid – loose.* Some people immediately seek to organize and to control the situation by setting the agenda, defining the rules, etc. They feel anxious if things threaten to get out of control and feel threatened by the unexpected. As a consequence, they are apt to push for rigid arrangements and rules and get upset by even minor deviations. At the

other extreme, there are some people who are aversive to anything that seems formal, limiting, controlling, or constricting.

(d) *Intellectual – emotional.* At one extreme, emotion is repressed, controlled, or isolated so that no relevant emotion is felt or expresed as one communicates one's thoughts. The lack of appropriate emotional expressiveness may seriously impair communication: the other may take your lack of emotion as an indicator that you have no real commitment to your interests and that you lack genuine concern for the other's interests. At the other extreme, there are some people who believe that only feelings are real and that words and ideas are not to be taken seriously unless they are thoroughly soaked in emotion. Their emotional extravagance impairs the ability to mutually explore ideas and to develop creative solutions to impasses; it also makes it difficult to differentiate the significant from the insignificant, if even the trivial is accompanied with intense emotion.

(e) *Escalating versus minimizing.* At one extreme, there are some people who tend to experience any given conflict in the largest possible terms. The issues are cast so that what is at stake involves one's self, one's family, one's ethnic group, precedence for all-time, or the like. The specifics of the conflict get lost as it escalates along the various dimensions of conflict: the size and number of the immediate issues involved; the number of motives and participants implicated on each side of the issue; the size and number of the principles and precedents that are perceived to be at stake; the cost that the participants are willing to bear in relation to the conflict; the number of norms of moral conduct from which behavior toward the other side is exempted; and the intensity of negative attitudes toward the other side. Escalation of the conflict makes the conflict more difficult to resolve constructively except when the escalation proceeds so rapidly that its absurdity even becomes self-apparent. At the other extreme, there are people who tend to minimize their conflicts. They are similar to the conflict avoiders but, unlike the avoiders, they do recognize the existence of the conflict. However, by minimizing the seriousness of the differences between self and other, by not recognizing how important the matter is to self and to other, one can produce serious misunderstandings. One may also restrict the effort and work that one may need to devote to the conflict in order to resolve it constructively.

12. *Finally, throughout conflict, one should remain a moral person – i.e., a person who is caring and just – and should consider the other as a member of one's moral community – i.e., as someone who is entitled to care and justice.* In the heat of conflict, there is often the tendency to shrink one's moral community and to exclude the other from it: this permits behavior toward the other which one would otherwise consider morally reprehensible. Such behavior escalates conflict and turns it in the direction of violence and destruction.

The foregoing elements could provide the basis for many different types of courses and workshops in conflict resolution in schools. My limited experience with such training would suggest that, by itself, a simple course or workshop is not usually sufficient to produce lasting effects: students must have repeated opportunities to practice their skills of constructive conflict resolution in a supportive atmosphere. The use of constructive controversy in teaching subject-matters could provide such an atmosphere.

The Use of Constructive Controversy in Teaching Subject-Matters

David and Roger Johnson (1987) of the University of Minnesota have suggested that teachers, no matter what subject they teach, can stimulate and structure constructive controversy in the classroom which will promote academic learning and the development of skills of conflict resolution. A cooperative context is established for a controversy by (a) assigning students to groups of four, (b) dividing each group into two pairs who are assigned positions on the topics to be discussed, and (c) requiring each group to reach a consensus on the issue and turn in a group report on which all members will be evaluated. There are five phases involved in the structured controversy. First, the paired students learn their respective positions; then, each pair presents its position. Next, there is an open discussion where students argue strongly and persuasively for their positions. After this, there is a perspective-reversal and each pair presents the opposing pair's position as sincerely and as persuasively as they can. In the last phase, they drop their advocacy of their assigned position and seek to reach consensus on a position that is supported by the evidence. In this phase, they write a joint statement with the rationale and supporting evidence for the synthesis their group has agreed on.

The discussion rules that the students are instructed to follow during the

controversy are: (1) Be critical of ideas, not people; (2) focus on making the best possible decision, not on "winning"; (3) encourage everyone to participate; (4) listen to everyone's ideas, even if you do not agree; (5) restate what someone has said if it is not clear; (6) bring out the ideas and facts supporting both sides and then try to put them together in a way that makes sense; (7) try to understand both sides of the issue; and (8) change your mind if the evidence clearly indicates that you should do so.

After the structured controversy, there is group processing and highlighting of the specific skills required for constructive controversy. There is good reason to believe that such structured controversy would not only make the classroom more interesting but that it would also promote the development of perspective taking, critical thinking, and other skills involved in constructive conflict resolution. However, as yet there has been little systematic research on structured controversy.

Mediation in the Schools

There are difficult conflicts which the disputing parties may not be able to resolve constructively without the help of third parties such as mediators. In schools, such conflicts can occur between students, between students and teachers, between parents and teachers, between teachers and administrators, etc. To deal with such conflicts, mediation programs have been established in a number of schools. These programs vary but, typically, students as well as teachers are given about twenty to thirty hours of training to prepare them to serve as mediators. They are given training in the principles of constructive conflict resolution as well as specific training in how to serve as a mediator. They are usually given a set of rules to apply during the mediation process. Students as young as ten years as well as high school and college students have been trained to serve as mediators. Little systematic research has been done on the effects of such programs but there is considerable anecdotal evidence to suggest that many student mediators have benefitted enormously and that incidents of school violence have decreased.

In selecting to emphasize cooperative learning, conflict resolution, structured controversy, and school mediation as the core of any comprehensive program for educating beyond hate, I have been guided by the view that students need to have continuing experiences of constructive

conflict resolution as they learn different subject-matters as well as an immersion in a school environment which, by the way it functions, provides daily experiences of (as well as a model of) cooperative relations and of constructive resolution of conflicts. This pervasive and extended experience, combined with tuition in the concepts and principles of cooperative work and of conflict resolution, should enable the student to develop generalizable attitudes and skills which would be strong enough to resist the countervailing influences that are so prevalent in their nonschool environments.

Editor's note: This text was originally prepared for a seminar on "The anatomy of hate", convened by Elie Wiesel at Boston University in 1989. An extended version was presented to the Division of Peace Psychology of the American Psychological Association in 1991 (under the title "Educating for a peaceful world").

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EDUCATING BEYOND FATALISM AND IMPOVERISHED SOCIAL IMAGINATION: ARE WE ACTIVELY LISTENING TO YOUNG PEOPLE'S VOICES ON THE FUTURE?

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This article attempts to illuminate the inadequacy of victimology accounts about young people and their images of the twenty-first century. Drawing upon social survey and small-group dialogue research in Australian schools, it posits the case for active listening to young people's voices on the future. In educating for the twenty-first century, it argues there are crucial choices for teachers and schools in how they respond to their students hopes and fears. Issues are raised relating to the negotiation of changes in the school curriculum congenial to the development of conflict resolution literacy, environmental literacy and other socially imaginative, proactive skills.

1.1 The Importance of Active Listening

'Children of the apocalypse' and other similarly stereotyped ways of thinking have underpinned a considerable body of research over the past decade on young people's anticipations of the future. In terms of quality responses in schools, arguably an important distinction needs to be made, on the one hand, between epistemologically strongly reductionist studies of youth and 'the future' that do little more than counsel 'wise resignation to inevitabilities' or palliative care, 'future-shock adjustment' and, on the other, actively listening to contemporary youth voices about feared futures. The latter empathetic listening may act, like a canary down a mineshaft, as an early societal warning. This form of diagnostic signalling may facilitate

constructive choice and engagement by teachers, parents, students and schools in their negotiations of preferable rather than fait accompli futures. In educating for the twenty-first century, it is important to avoid the dogmatic closure of the fatalistic fallacy that 'trend is destiny'.

The survey data for this paper are based on a multistage cluster sample of nearly 650 Australian upper secondary school students from various socio-economic backgrounds in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. The small group dialogue data are derived from a one in four systematic sample from the original sample of student respondents. In each case, the sampled student populations were stratified in terms of government and Catholic systemic schools.

The atmosphere sought for the small-group dialogues was one in which young people from participating schools could feel reasonably relaxed and able to converse openly. They were encouraged not to censor their thoughts and feelings. Through non-judgemental listening, they were invited to explore their hopes, their dreams, their concerns, their fears, their beliefs and taken-for-granted assumptions about the future. Each dialogue session involved around eight students and took up to two hours.

Subject to agreement among the members of each small group, the dialogues were tape recorded. In addition, again subject to the agreement among group members, the participants' activity sheets were kept for later analysis. Coupled with the almost 50 hours of tape-recorded dialogues, these sheets have provided an invaluable source of written and visual information about young people's feared and preferable futures.

The process has been used, also, successfully in professional development programs with groups of primary and secondary teachers to help introduce ideas on creative futures work in the classroom. Furthermore, an adapted version has been used by high school student-organised workshops on 'Inventing Futures'. Detailed explanations as to methodology, together with sample experiential-learning, futures-workshop activities, are available (Hutchinson, 1992a).

1.2 Young People's Images of Feared Future Worlds

Images of the future may have very different emotional charging (Bjerstedt 1992, p. 4). Such charging may be negative, neutral, positive or ambivalent. Many of the young people in this study expressed a strong sense of negativity, helplessness, despondency and even anguish about the anticipated

problems facing their society and the world at large. For a majority, negative imagery of the future ranged from perceptions of intensifying pressure and competition in schools in the twenty-first century to worsening trends in physical violence and war, joblessness and poverty, destructive technology and environmental degradation.

The remainder of this subsection looks at some aspects of what many young people are saying is probable and what they fear will happen. A number of major themes in their anticipations about the future or futuremes, as they are sometimes called in futures study literature, have been identified to help illuminate the discussion.

1.2.1 An uncompassionate world

A major theme that emerged in the small-group dialogues was on conceptions of an uncompassionate future. Continued trends in depersonalisation, competitive pressures in schools and in difficulties in finding work after leaving school during times of record youth unemployment, and a lack of genuinely loving or caring relationships were typically anticipated. Such imagery of the future was often coupled with expressions of helplessness about relentless, mechanistic change in which human feelings, self-esteem and aspirations are too readily sacrificed. Negative futuremes of this kind were most commonly voiced among young people from less affluent socio-economic backgrounds. Vera, a sixteen year old living in an outer metropolitan area of Sydney, in which there are very high levels of youth joblessness, gives one such voice:

> ... In the future I think the world will become worse than now ... More families will break up ... There will be much more violence ... The environment will get worse ... There will be more unemployment ... There will be many more inventions like in [in the television series] "Beyond 2000" but I don't think it will help in any way ...

This theme of alienation is similarly expressed by Anthony, a year 11 student at an inner city high school:

> ... The city is full of skyscraping buildings and police officers with helmets on and riot gear ... The streets are packed with people and Sydney is a high tech city ... It has become like the Bronx, survival of the fittest ... Families all over Sydney are dominated by computers, not love ...

Vera, Anthony and many other students in their narratives about the twenty-first century expressed discontent about the present quality of interpersonal relations in 'the hidden curriculum' and wanted improvements in schools, such as more supportive, caring and participatory learning environments, but doubted their realism. When asked to consider whether there will be by the year 2020 less school pressures, such as exams, or more, nearly two-thirds anticipated a worsening of the current situation. Less than 15 per cent anticipated real improvements.

1.2.2 A physically violent world

Notwithstanding the end of the Cold War, under 20 percent of the students surveyed were of the view that the potential resolution of the problem of war is likely to get better over the next five years. When students were invited to extend the time-scale by twenty or thirty years, the institution of war for most remained an intractable or immalleable part of the future. Only a little over 20 percent considered it likely that any practical, peacemaking initiatives will succeed in significantly lessening the risks of war by the year 2020 (see Table 1).

Table 1. War as a problem in the future: young people's anticipations [valid cases 629]

Next 5 years	Percentage response
An increased problem	42.5
A decreased problem	17.0
About as now	23.5
Undecided	17.0

Next 20 to 30 years	Percentage response
An increased problem	39.1
A decreased problem	21.9
About as now	13.4
Undecided	25.6

Fear-laden imagery of a world of increased direct and psychological violence in the twenty-first century was a recurring theme among many of the student interviewees. This was generally indicated more strongly among

the girls than the boys but both sexes expressed concern. There was some comment, moreover, in the context of such futuremes of the fact that most of the physical violence in the world was carried out by males. 'Macho violence' was condemned by many of the girls but, more positively, it was acknowledged by some of the boys. The latter is a potentially positive development, especially if as argued elsewhere gender-specific socialization tends to condone male violence and facilitate militarism (Hall, 1993).

In terms of perceptions of a future world of physical violence, this kind of imagery among many of the girls cuts across social class. Here are some of the comments by Belinda, a girl from an affluent, middle class school:

> ... The world will be violent ... The world will be in a worse state than it is now ... Everyone will only care about themselves ... The governments are going to be corrupt ... There will be no greenery left ... Everyone will be sad. There will be no love.

Caroline, also, from a school in an affluent area pictures a frightening future metropolis, with urban decay, male violence and loneliness:

> ... I see the future a little like New York is now ... It is very crowded, very aggressive, with rape and violence in dark alleys and street bums and pick pockets out on the main walkways ...
>
> I think how a lost child would feel in this situation – scared, alone, frightened ...

Likewise, a bleakly unresponsive, physically violent world is anticipated by Ann, a year 11 student at a predominantly low income area, inner city school:

> ... There will be more street fighting, more colour gangs, bigger gangs, more street deaths. Life will be three times or more dangerous than now ... Hoping it won't happen but it will ...
>
> People – such as pollies, big nobs – live in rose coloured worlds and won't change. They won't take notice of kids ...

Images of a physically violent future were at their most poignant and graphic by young people with family or friends with recent direct experience of war. Omar, who attends an inner western suburban school with a large number of students from Middle Eastern family backgrounds, was greatly disturbed by what had happened in the Gulf War and at the prospects of using chemical and other hi-tech weaponry in future wars. 'I picture the world', he said, 'with a great big gas mask'. Bozica, a year 12 student at an inner city girls' school whose parents are of Croation

background, expressed deep alarm at events in a fragmenting Yugoslavia. She deplored the escalating violence and feared for the future without adequate EC and UN involvement in achieving a peaceful settlement. Huong, a seventeen year old, attends an outer metropolitan school in an area of very high youth unemployment. Her family came as refugees from a strife-torn situation in South-East Asia. This is Huong's description of the probable future of the world in the twenty-first century:

> ... Death, killing, saw a man dead, tank blown up ... I saw a war in the twenty-first century ... I don't think the world will get better ... More crimes are going to happen ... More people will die ...

Whilst the present study focuses on young Australians in the age group 15 to 18, there are other studies that suggest the probable cumulative effects of attenuated, violent imagery on young people's anticipations of the future. In other words, although it is an area that deserves more research, age is a likely significant variable. Data gathered for the Australian Educating for Peace (EFP) project, for example, suggest that with age hopes about alternatives to direct, structural and ecological violence are likely to lessen and images of peace become more 'inner' focused. Cynical assumptions about visions of a better world as necessarily 'impractical' or 'unworkable' are more likely to be taken-for-granted.

One important aspect of EFP research involved dialogues among young and older people on various images of peace. 28 Catholic systemic schools from 13 zones of the Melbourne archdiocese participated. Data were gathered from 700 primary school children, 620 secondary students and 270 parents (Lacey, Heffernan & Hutchinson, 1986, pp. 200-210). The compiled evidence strongly suggests the importance of creative futures work beginning as early as possible in a young person's formal and informal education, if skills of conflict resolution and imagination about non-violent alternatives are to be fully encouraged. Yet, such evidence should not be interpreted to mean that by the time a young person reaches the senior secondary school the learning of these skills is doomed to ineffectualness. It may be more difficult but it is a strict determinist fallacy to assume otherwise.

1.2.3 A divided world

Less than 10 percent of the students surveyed expressed any optimism about the prospect of a real lessening of the problems of poverty and unemployment over the next five years. With an extension of the time-

frame to the year 2020, over 50 percent thought that the situation would be then worse in terms of economic security. Over such a longer time-frame, prospects for improvements in economic security were regarded as more promising by some but still less than 20 percent of the total sample were of this view.

A major futureme in student dialogues was on a strongly divided world in the twenty-first century between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. As one student commented, 'there will be two contrasting societies: a very rich and well off one and area of violence and very low income people or the unemployed'. Many craved economic security. There was, moreover, a frequent questioning of what was seen as the 'greed is good' assumptions of the 1980s. Especially from students attending schools in lower income areas, the prospects of unemployment were a concern, but issues of economic insecurity, both local and global, were expressed by students from various socio-economic backgrounds.

Lena, a year 11 student at a school in a low income area, elaborates on the theme of an anticipated seriously divided future world as follows:

> ... I can't see any trees, just poverty, dirt and rubbish, whilst on the other side ... trees, gardens, animals, life, money ... There are two different worlds on the one planet: pain on one side; happy, laughing people on the other ...

There is a cry to be heard in the words of Raoul, a student at school in an area badly hit by the rural recession, youth unemployment and homelessness. Anger needs to be constructively harnessed. He is despairing about a saner and more equitable future:

> ... It is too late to help the human race ... You've fucked up everything so much already that "you're all gonna die" ...

Such expression of lost self-esteem and alienation are unlikely to be adequately met by proffered technocratic solutions to youth unemployment and arguments about necessary longterm shifts in work patterns. More education of a narrowly vocational bent, more behaviourist criteria in setting instructional goals, and more insistence on literacy narrowly defined are hardly likely to be adequate in meeting such deep-seated needs-deprivation. Rather than sensible foresight and encouragement of active citizenship, it is a probable recipe for exacerbated societal problems. More young people, for example, may turn to drugs or seek solace for demoralisation and broken dreams in the entertainment industry's promise

of multi-media, virtual reality. Some may even seek to deal with the pain of fractured self-worth and identity through suicide. Indeed, especially in those industrialised societies such as Australia with comparatively high levels of child poverty, youth suicide rates have risen over recent years (UNICEF, 1993, p. 45).

1.2.4 A mechanised world

A further significant futureme discernible in the student dialogues related to ambivalent feelings among many of fatalism, passive hope and discontent about 'a machine at the heart of the world'. Epistemologically, this ambivalence may be interpreted as grounded in the contemporary crisis over the disenchantment of conventional western science and technology from nature (Berman, 1981; Mumford, 1973; Postman, 1993). It also emphasizes the importance pedagogically of problematising taken-for-granted assumptions about technological determinism and broadening social imagination and debate beyond, for example, traditional distopian science fiction fare in student media.

The extract below helps to illuminate this last point. It expresses a loss of faith in human agency and a foreclosure of the future in machine culture. The voice is that of Mohamed, a year 11 student in an inner metropolitan school:

> I saw a science and technology based planet where robots and machines are taking over. Life will be all mechanical ... That is computer operated machines will dominate ... The environment will be mainly demolished and many animals will be extinct ... Wars will be very common ... What I saw seemed to me like one of those science-fiction movies ...

In a similar vein, Clara, a year 11 student in a country Catholic high school, expressively commented on the psychological pain of a mechanised, humanly and spiritually diminished world:

> ... The most prominent view I see [of the twenty-first century] is that somewhere in the "centre" is a huge atomic bomb in a glass shell. It is there to remind us that one day there will be no future.

The great majority of the students surveyed found a 'hard' or violent technological image of the future as likely or very likely. Only a comparatively small percentage thought that a 'soft' or non-violent technological image of Australia in the year 2020 is likely or very likely.

1.2.5 An environmentally unsustainable world

Among the students surveyed the most commonly occurring responses to the open question, 'list up to three local or global problems that most concern you', were, in order of frequency, within the following broad categories: ecology-related problems, direct violence-related problems, and economic security-related problems. Furthermore, less than 10 percent considered that the problems of environmental degradation will be seriously tackled over the next five years. With a shift to a longer term perspective, a little over 20 percent believed that real progress will be made in lessening the problems of ecological violence by the year 2020.

Here are some young people's voices. They speak both eloquently and fearfully about an environmentally insecure and unsustainable future. Craig, who goes to a government school in outer western Sydney, had this to say:

> ...I saw a dry and dead environment ... The beaches and the air were destroyed by pollution and people were dying fast ... There were guns and fighting going on all over the world. Most people were poverty stricken and were forced to live on the streets ...
>
> The world to me wouldn't be worth living in ...

Trudi, a sixteen year old who attends a Catholic school in the same municipality, voiced the following anxieties:

> ... I hope for a fresh, clean environment but I am very scared that the world will be dirty and violent and sick ... I want life to be happy, not having to worry about bombs, wars and dying ... not just me but the world dying out ... I can't imagine life 30 years from now ...

For Michelle, a year 11 student at a northern suburbs girls' school, the images that came to mind were of a fragmented and fragmenting world:

> ... no trees ... all grey ... smog ... pollution ... unhappiness ... false love ... Discontent between families ... Very rich people ... Famine takes hold of unlucky poor people ... Robotics ... Polluted water and air ... Pure water and oxygen for sale ... War ... No more world ...

Anthony, a sixteen year old who attends a non-metropolitan school in a region of major native forest die back and land degradation, anticipates a sham world. He was angered at what he sees as the likely increasing disenchantment from nature in the twenty-first century:

> I see the environment in the future as a false representation of the real thing ... Forests that have been knocked down are made into forests of fibreglass and cement ...

For Chris, a seventeen year old at another non-metropolitan school, there was the desire to 'bring to the surface' taken-for-granted assumptions about the future in comics and other media artefacts but, also a sense of heightened insecurity, impoverished social imagination and lack of proactive skills for dealing constructively with perceived problems of an environmentally unsustainable future:

> I see the world in total disharmony and unease. So-called efforts to save the environment, to stop war, to erase poverty have been unsuccessful and failures. It's a world of total conflict ... No effort is being made to bring together and discuss our problems in a civilised way.
>
> I fear the world in the twenty-first century will be much like a comic book science fiction story. Especially one like "Judge Dredd" will become reality. If we don't attempt to bring these thoughts to the surface now, then the Earth will become a vast waste dump ...

1.2.6 A politically corrupt and deceitful world

At the same time as many young people in Australia are expressing such fears about the future, there is also a widespread sense of cynicism indicated about the value of voting and of traditional political parties generally. Nearly a third saw no point in voting whilst a further 20 per cent expressed considerable doubts about conventional political institutions doing anything really practical about perceived problems. As one student put it bluntly, 'politicians are all lying bastards'. In an equally ascerbic comment by another student, broken promises on child poverty and young employment opportunities were deplored. '... Politicians will be sneaky and always find a loophole somewhere.'

Such attitudes were found to be more likely among young people in metropolitan Sydney than among young people in non-metropolitan areas of New South Wales, although in both cases the trend lines of anger and disillusionment with conventional political life were strong. The data suggest, also, that assumptions about the pointlessness of voting are generally more common among adolescents from lower socio-economic areas than upper. It underlines, as in the Aulich report (1991), major needs in terms of participatory approaches to citizenship education.

1.3 Young People's Images of Preferable Future Worlds

Notwithstanding such evidence about young people's feared futures, the situation is arguably more complex and potentially open to negotiation than might at first sight be suggested. The inadequacy of the strict determinist fallacy is highlighted by recent Australian survey data on age cohort as a predictor of value priorities, whether materialist, postmaterialist or mixed, and levels of support for environmental groups, 'new politics' and nonviolent participation (Papadakis, 1993). Furthermore, it may be argued that youth voices, if actively listened to as a form of diagnostic signalling, may result in quality responses. Rather than either deafness to the young people's pleas or fatalism about probable outcomes, there may be constructive efforts at applied foresight in schools.

The experience from the small-group dialogues, in which young people were given not only opportunities to frankly express their concerns and fears but also were invited to creatively visualise preferable worlds and to begin the processes of action-planning, lends support to this latter proposition. Although an area ripe for longitudinal studies and a good diversity of specific action-research projects in schools, the available evidence from the present study substantiates the value of cultivating broad rather than narrow literacies, especially if young people are to feel less helpless about an undifferentiated world of 'problems, problems and more problems'. What is encouraging is that it tends to confirm quite strongly the innovative work by Boulding (1988a,b) and Ziegler (1989, 1991) on the need for optimal forms of literacy that go beyond the 3 Rs and the educational technofix assumptions of reductionist kinds of computer literacy.

In deconstructing colonising images of the future and educating beyond fatalism, arguably skills in lateral thinking and social imagination are vitally important for would-be journeyers into the twenty-first century. What this may mean for schools, teachers, students and curricula is a matter for crucial choice. In attempting to transcend the metaphors of deterministic space and time of the Newtonian clockwork universe, it is important that young people's feared futures are dealt with honestly and caringly. Yet, in resisting the fallacy of restricted alternatives, it is also important not to unwittingly reintroduce taken-for-granted assumptions about the helplessness of young people in contributing to a better world by uncritically invoking technofix 'solutions'. The fallacy of technological 'magical helpers', for example, needs to be debunked.

1.3.1 Technocratic dreaming

Passive, not active, hope is central to technocratic dreaming. Technological determinist assumptions remain unproblematised in such imagery of the future. Human beings adjust to a given technological development trajectory rather than negotiate futures. There is the promise of the easy-fix and consumerist pot of gold at the end of the high-technology rainbow. Just under 45 percent of the sampled population of young people agreed that breakthroughs by scientists and technologists offer the best hope for a better future and for dealing with problems of direct violence, poverty and ecologically unsustainable development. Complex interrelations are involved in such an essentially illusory faith in technofixes and a lack of image or multimedia literacy of social alternatives.

Some specific examples of naive optimism about reductionist forms of science and technology as saviour may help in elucidating this argument. Generally, the most enthusiastic adherents of technofixes were to be found among the boys. Here, for example, is what Gordon had to say about technological evolution and human society by the beginning of the third decade of the twenty-first century. For this year 11 student, who attends a government high school in an inner-city suburb, survival from the onslaughts of war and environmental degradation depend on the passive hope of a technofix variety:

> In the year 2020, there are lots of computerised things. Everywhere you go computers will do the hard work ...
>
> The Earth may have had a nuclear war and be badly polluted – so the surviving people live together in cities. They may have to have huge bubbles over the cities to protect the people ... Outside of the bubbles would be a desolate Earth with lots of pollution but inside [the bubbles] everything would be a nearly perfect environment to live ... [Beyond our present planetary home] there may also be people living on Mars or the moon ...

Dylan, who is a year 10 student in a Catholic inner city boys' school, also is quietly confident of technocratic deliverance:

> ...The world will enjoy the improvements of technology ... The environment will be reasonably clean ... There will be voyages into deep space ... New planets and galaxies will be found ...

Even more enraptured by hi-tech answers is Nicholas, a year 11 student at a metropolitan high school:

> ... The twenty-first century to me will be more easy ... Everything will be done by a flick of a button. Instead of human modes, I see robots ... Science and technology will lead the field in the twenty-first century ... There will be more peace in the air and the environment will also be better if they keep producing aerosol cans without fluorocarbons ...

The uncritical enthusiasm of true believers in the technocratic credo was similarly evident in the views of Matthew and Adam who attend a non-metropolitan school. This is what Matthew had to say about his preferred world in the twenty-first century:

> There will be cities under the water ... There will be great new technology ... School will be a thing of the past as machines will slowly take over the workforce ... There will be no point learning as there will be no jobs to occupy us in a leisure-filled world ...

Adam, a sixteen year old, elaborated a similar technological fantasy:

> I see robots everywhere, like they will be servants ... People will have their own personal ones ... Cars will have no wheels and will run on air just above the ground ... Schools will be run with computers with no paper ... Instead of having cruises at sea, there will be flights to different planets and people might even be living on different planets ...

1.3.2 Beyond technocratic dreaming

The illusions of hi-tech 'magic helpers', technological cargo-cultism and an easy technocratic exit from contemporary crises on planet Earth are implied in the naive expressions of hope by young people such as Adam. As the world nears the new millennium the selective traditions of capitalist technoscience as liberator, with its major associated narratives of positivism, resourcism and technocratism, are being energetically reasserted. In this, signs may be discerned that contemporary questionings of orthodox economics and industrialism by many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the emergence of green politics movements in late industrial societies are being vigorously resisted. Unlike other modern meta-narratives, such as Soviet Communism which was morally bankrupted by the Gulag and economically bankrupted by the Cold War arms race, the selective tradition associated with epistemologically strongly reductionist forms of science and technology still retains some culturally very powerful myths about what makes and constitutes true 'progress' or 'development'.

1.3.3 A demilitarisation and greening of science and technology

Many girls in the sample were both less enthused about conventional science and technology and more open to alternative imagery of peaceable or ecologically sustainable science and technology than their male peers. It is trite to suggest that the lack of equivalent enthusiasm among girls may be attributed simply to technophobia or inadequate scientific literacy, especially if in narrowly defined modes. At a deeper level, some of the explanation may lie in the existing patterns in late industrial societies of male dominance in scientific education and technological training but also in terms of interlocking crises in machine culture in which long taken for granted assumptions about normal science and technology are beginning to be challenged in more holistic ways (Eisler, 1993; Harman, 1992; Macy, 1993; Shiva, 1988).

With the contemporaneous, albeit still highly provisional moves at reconceptualising macho technology and re-enchanting science with nature, arguably it has become more difficult to take for granted the traditional Cartesian dichotomy between facts and ethical considerations. Similarly, because of feminist, anti-militarist and green critiques of 'toys for the boys' over the recent decades, it is now more difficult to ignore issues of means and ends in science and technology. Feminist futurist Le Guin (1992, pp. 85-90), for example, has suggested that such eco-relational thinking from new social movements and alternative knowledge traditions is potentially significant in the protracted processes of negotiating futures. She uses the Taoist metaphor of yang and yin to illustrate 'hard' and 'soft' styles of reasoning and social imagination about what constitutes authentic 'progress' or 'development':

> ... It seems that the utopian imagination is trapped, like capitalism and industrialism ..., in a one-way future ... [Its] premise is progress, not process ... Utopia has been yang. In one way or another, from Plato on, utopia has been the big yang motorcycle trip ... clear, strong, ... aggressive, lineal ...
>
> What kind of utopia can come of [the] margins, negations, and obscurities [of alternative knowledge traditions]? ... Our civilisation is now so intensely yang that any imagination of bettering its injustices or eluding its self-destructiveness must involve a reversal ... What would a yin utopia be? It would be ... participatory, ... cyclical, peaceful, nurturant ...

With such an invitation to a *dialogue des epistemologies*, it is illuminating to note that there may be some gender differences in openness to alternative knowledge traditions. There are indications that while only small minorities

of boys and girls are active participants in local community projects, girls more often than boys are likely participants in green organisations and social welfare groups. Although larger minorities are involved, there is a similar story in relation to fund-raising for community service projects such as the Red Cross, UNICEF and Community Aid Abroad/Freedom from Hunger.

Interestingly, too, in the small-group dialogues many of the girls expressed a dislike or distaste for contemporary offerings in science classrooms as well as of boys' attention-getting or disruptive behaviour in what is perceived as essentially a 'masculine preserve'. Those girls who voiced an interest in a future career in science usually did so in areas with an explicit social welfare or ecological dimension such as environmental science. Relatedly, the evidence in Table 2 suggests a greater readiness on the part of girls than boys for creative imagination about social alternatives that extends beyond both the fallacies of technocratic dreaming and technophobia. The data for this table are based upon student responses to an open survey item. Students were invited to answer the following:

> Imagine that you are living in the year 2020. Many of your hopes for the world have been realised. Your are asked by a small child to describe the positive changes that have occurred in your world since you were young in the 1990s, and how these changes happened. List up to three (3) of these positive changes that are most important to you.

Table 2. Young people's readiness to offer images of a better world (by gender)
Sample size: 626 (comprising 303 males and 323 females)

	Male Percentage	Female Percentage
Non-response	33.4	20.4
Earthcare imaging	23.7	30.4
Warless-world imaging	14.5	14.6
Socially just-world imaging	8.9	27.3
Other imaging (including technocratic dreaming)	19.5	17.3

1.3.4 Imagining intergenerational equity

In envisaging better worlds, many of the students voiced a need not only for greater fairness in the world of the late twentieth century but in accepting responsibilities for future generations of life on planet Earth. Belinda, whose views have been earlier quoted in relation to perceived trends in physical violence, had this to say:

> I see a world in which people accept each other, help each other ... The world will be replanted ... There will be no cruelty to animals and there will be an abundance of them ... There will be no poverty. Everyone will have food and shelter ... There will be time to enjoy life.

Angela, a fifteen year old who attends a school in a low income area in outer south western Sydney, expressed similar hopes for a more equitable and sustainable future:

> My hopes and dreams for the future are that different coloured races are united in one society ... People, whether white or black, will be caring and sharing with each other ... Problems will be resolved in talks, not through wars ... The Earth will be restored and there will be no pollution ... There will be no third or second world countries ... Everyone will be equal ...

For Brad, a year 10 Asian Studies student at a non-metropolitan school, there was the following image of a better world.

> ... I journeyed to the year 2020 ... The image I saw was of beautiful, sunny surroundings ... It was a world in which students enjoyed school and had fun in class while still learning about things relevant for survival ... It was a world in which real steps had been taken to end child poverty ... There was less pollution ... Species were not threatened and the forests were flourishing ... There were no wars on the news ... There was news of improvements in pollution control and cures for diseases ... There was no discrimination ... The colour of a person's skin didn't matter. All were treated fairly ...

1.3.5 Making peace with people and planet

An important related theme in many young people's voices on preferable futures concerns the need for reappraisals and changes in values and skills for dealing with conflicts constructively rather than destructively on a variety of scales and levels from the micro to the macro. Here, for example, is what Bozica, whose views on the risks of war in the twenty-first century have been already considered, had to say about peacemaking.

> ...The world I would like to see in the year 2020 would be one where people talk with each other and listen ... It would be a world in which people communicate well and resolve their differences peacefully, not through violence ... The involvement of the United Nations will hopefully be able to deal with matters of concern in a way which does not cause human bloodshed ...

Like Bozica, Huong's fear about the prospects of war have been cited earlier in this article. After participating in a creative visualisation activity, as part of a small-group dialogue at her school, Huong shared the following image of a better world:

> I see a future world in which everyone is treated equally ... We live together in peace. There is lots of love between people no matter what their colour, sex, culture, religion ...
>
> I see the environment as safe to live in ... Everywhere you go there are nice gardens, parks, trees, flowers ... Everybody has their own garden ... No one is hungry or homeless ...

Such a narrative on preferable futures is similarly echoed in the dreams of Sonia, a fifteen year old at a non-metropolitan high school. Her dreams are in sharp contrast with her fears about a world of more hate, selfishness and greed:

> ... I saw the world as a non-polluted planet. The seas and skies were clear ... The forests were healthy and bright with numerous birds carolling ... I walked near a small spring and waterfall. The waterfall was crystal clear ...
>
> I saw people helping each other when in need. When someone fell crossing a busy street, a caring person immediately went to the other person's aid. The world had become caring and beautiful.

In one sense, such imagery is redolent of the residual tradition in western civilisation of a primeval paradisiacal garden but it is arguably more than a restatement of Arcadian myth. Its tentative reconceptualisations of ethics and spirituality suggest more than a backwards or nostalgic look at times past. In terms of times present and times future, there are some signs in such youth voices of an acknowledgement of a felt need for a re-enchantment with nature and for less materialistic, less ecologically unsustainable and more compassionate and peaceful values and lifestyles.

1.4 Linking Images of a Better World with Action-Planning

Given the trends identified in this study of youth perceptions of the future, it is important to raise the question of possible quality responses to young people's expressed needs and fears. Here it is appropriate to note that though the majority of students surveyed held strongly negative imagery of the twenty-first century in terms of direct, structural and ecological forms of violence, many still believe it is helpful to resist restriction of social imagination about preferable futures. Generally girls expressed greater support for the value of imaging social alternatives than boys, especially in cooperative learning contexts, and were able, in many cases, to enter upon more readily creative visualisations of what a better world in the twenty-first century might be like. Yet, a substantial number of both the boys and the girls in the social survey and small group dialogues affirmed that opportunities for such social imaging or dreaming were important for them. A common complaint was that such opportunities to develop a broadened literacy in skills of social imagination were too few in conventional education.

Whilst more commonly among boys than girls dreaming of a better world takes the form of passive hope in scientific experts and technocratic solutions, for a substantial number of both sexes the situation is more variegated and less attenuated. Both motivationally and from the perspective of practical politics, the importance often came out in the small group dialogues of linking images of a better world with action-planning. As commented by a seventeen year old male student at a government high school:

> ... Without definite action, nothing will really change for the better. The Cold War is over and now the world must work cooperatively to lift itself out of the visionary slump it is in ...

The possibility of the conventional realist counsel of positive dreams as utopian impracticalities was often acknowledged but there was, also, among many a rejection of rationalisations of the futility of imagining a better world. Here, for instance, is what one fifteen year old female student had to say about thinking globally, acting locally. This particular student, whose mother was born in the Philippines, attends a metropolitan Catholic school:

> ... Thanks for listening to our concerns and hopes about what our future will be like. It is good to see that some older people are worried about what might happen. It is our world we will have to live in, so I guess we all have to make it a better place to live in as soon as possible ...

1.5 Crucial Questions for Schools

When asked whether there is any point in dreaming about an improved world in the twenty-first century, around 50 percent of the students surveyed were of the opinion that better opportunities in schools to imagine preferable futures are crucial for questions of choice and engagement. Large majorities of both boys and girls indicated their support for the importance of learning proactive skills in schools about direct, structural and ecological forms of violence (see Table 3). This kind of evidence challenges crudely reductionist assumptions about young people as mostly inexorable casualties of 'future shock' and linear patterns of development in Western civilization.

Table 3. Alternatives to violence: Learning proactive skills in schools for the twenty-first century.
[Valid cases 629]

Students' concern category	Preferred futures in education
Future problems relating to	Percentage support among students for the importance of learning proactive skills in schools
direct violence (eg. bashings, war)	84.6
structural violence (eg. poverty)	89.0
ecological violence (eg. species extinction, greenhouse effect)	88.9

Active listening to young people's voices on the future suggest that much more is needed than the traditonal 3Rs and the appeal of the apparent security of a 'back-to-basics' curriculum. In a complex, uncertain and changing world, this implies that there are crucial questions for schools in

terms of negotiating broader social literacies that address young people's hopes and fears in more adequate and empowering ways. It underlines strongly the educational challenge for applied foresight in schools in infusing creative futures work across the curriculum (Beare & Slaughter, 1993; Calder & Smith, 1991; Dufty & Dufty, 1993; Godwin, 1992; Hicks, 1991; Hutchinson, 1992 a, b, forthcoming; Hutchinson et al., 1992; Johnson, 1993; Orr, 1992; Tough, 1991; Waddell & Hutchinson, 1988).

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PEACE EDUCATION ACROSS THE CURRICULUM: SOME PERSPECTIVES FROM NEW ZEALAND

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Kotahi te kōhao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā, te miro pango, te miro whero. I muri kia mau ki te aroha, ki te ture, ki te whakapono.

Through the eye of the same needle pass the white threads, the black threads, the red threads. Afterwards, hold fast to your love, the law and the faith.

Maori proverb

In all the critical attacks that have been made on peace education in schools, none seems to be more pervasive than the charge that it is not a proper discipline and therefore has no place in the school curriculum. It is sometimes viewed as just another time-wasting subject in an already overfull school programme (Cox & Scruton, 1984; Marks, 1984). However, as Hicks has pointed out, these criticisms often bear little relationship to what most teachers have been and are actually doing in schools. Peace studies is seldom proposed as a separate subject in its own right: it is almost always taught as an interdisciplinary study within existing subjects (Hicks, 1988, p. 176). The Peace Studies: Draft Guidelines, which formed the basis for much activity in peace education in New Zealand in the 1980's was very clear on the subject.

> Peace studies is not conceived as a separate subject to be added on to the present curriculum nor does it displace subjects. Rather, it is a dimension which can be readily integrated into existing subjects and has cross-curriculum implications.(Department of Education, 1988, p. 3.)

This paper explores some of the implications of this cross-curriculum view of peace studies, drawing to some extent as examples on recent curriculum and other educational developments in New Zealand. The paper proposes that any socially responsive curriculum, at all levels of schooling, must address the key, controversial issues that concern young people. Studies of peace, conflict, war, violence must take their place in, what Skilbeck has called "a reconstructed common core curriculum" which should highlight major social concerns, goals and values (Skilbeck, 1987, p. 9).

Peace Education and Controversial Issues: Some Principles

The issues of peace, and war are among some of the most crucial questions that the school in a democracy can encourage its young citizens to think seriously about. How then, should these issues be approached? This is a question that has in recent years been discussed quite frequently in the educational literature (e.g. Carrington & Troyna, 1988; Dearden, 1984; Gardner, 1984; Wellington, 1986). From this literature a number of defining characteristics of a controversial issue can be identified.

> (a) A controversial issue is one on which there is a substantial division in the community.
>
> (b) It is concerned with value judgements and cannot be settled on evidence, facts or experiment alone. In this respect the kinds of controversial issues that might be dealt with in social studies differ from most scientific controversies.
>
> (c) Controversial issues are usually regarded as important by a significant number of people, who feel strongly about them one way or the other.

When dealing with controversial issues one of the key questions which must be addressed is the role of the teacher. Some of the most lively and fruitful debates on this subject over the past twenty years arose out of the work of the Humanities Curriculum Project of the Schools Council in Britain. This project was based on the premises that controversial issues

should be handled in classrooms but that discussion rather than instruction, and divergence of views rather than consensus should be aimed at. In order to achieve this aim teachers should see their roles as neutral chairpersons of the discussion with responsibility for quality and standards of learning. As McNaughton has pointed out, this approach falls within a tradition of educational thought, from Dewey to Freire, which places emphasis on pupil autonomy, active thought, dialogue and discovery in learning (McNaughton, 1983, p.87).

It must be emphasised here that there is no suggestion that controversial matters such as peace and war should be taught only by teachers who have no strong views on the subject themselves. For one thing, such a teacher would be unlikely to inspire much enthusiasm in the students. In addition, it would be next to impossible to achieve, in that one of the characteristics of any worthwhile controversial issue is that most people do feel strongly about such questions, which is something that the students should be brought to realize. Of course many people feel that young people ought not to express firm opinions on such matters in school. As Walkling and Brannigan have noted, the tradition of education as transformation, as something that helps us transform ourselves and the world, has existed uneasily alongside an older tradition of education as serving the wishes of parents and the community. Liberally-minded teachers have always had problems in pursuing an educational ideal of individual autonomy (Walkling & Brannigan, 1986, pp. 21-23). In New Zealand, during the 1987 election campaign, Mr Jim Bolger, the then Leader of the Opposition and now Prime Minister, visited a Wellington secondary school and was strongly challenged by the students on the nuclear issue, a challenge which displeased many people in his party.

In practice, the Humanities Project always expected the teacher to be honest with the students, to tell them that for the purposes of the discussion they are adopting a position of neutrality, and why they are doing it. Nothing in the procedure is hidden and the students are thus able to criticize the teacher's performance. In his study of the neutral chairperson concept in operation in three New Zealand high schools, McNaughton found that in fact neutrality as a procedural device often withered away, to be replaced by a free discussion of all views, teacher included. This was sometimes demanded by students who were interested in the teacher's views and didn't feel in the least threatened by them. At other times, teachers might inject a biased opinion into the discussion in order to revive flagging interest (McNaughton, 1983, p. 94). A crucial element in all this would appear to

be a degree of mutual trust and respect that would lead to a more co-operative teaching-learning mode.

Many people would agree, with considerable justification, that an education system can never be neutral. Possibly the most powerful advocate of this view today is Paulo Freire. In his introduction to Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Staull summarizes the position:

> There is no such thing as a *neutral* educational process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it or it becomes 'the practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (Freire, 1972, pp. 13-14.)

The words 'critically' and 'creatively' are crucial here. There is no suggestion that the non-neutral teacher, in the Freirian sense, intends to indoctrinate. Indeed it is quite the opposite: the intention is to turn out people who can think for themselves and who are active in their dealings with the world. Freire has developed the notion of 'generative themes' which, when analyzed, unfold into many new themes, which, in their turn, call for new tasks to be fulfilled. These themes, which can form the context of an educational programme, are investigated through dialogue,

> .... providing the opportunity both to discover generative themes and to stimulate people's awareness in regard to these themes (Freire, 1972, p. 69).

Freire's idea is not completely new. It is part of a tradition going back at least to Pestalozzi, in which a central theme is used as an integrating principle, and has marked similarities to the educational theories of John Dewey and his followers, particularly the much distorted notion of the 'project method'. What Freire adds is an insistence on a critical, interactive and cooperative approach to learning, so that all the various issues arising from the generative theme are allowed to unfold. Issues of peace, war, violence in the community and family, nuclear power and nuclear weapons are powerful generative themes for young people to study, not as passive recipients of a dogma, but as active participants in a search. Freire's approach, as Rivage-Seul puts it, transcends the bounds of "technical peace education" and presents a challenge of "morally imaginative peace education" which includes not only critical analysis but also the acceptance of

feelings and the exercise of compassion (Rivage-Seul, 1987).

One justification, then, for dealing with controversial issues is that they help in the development of essential skills as well as introducing students to significant questions. Students seriously examining a controversy should be assisted to acquire such skills and attitudes as concern for evidence, questioning of sources, an understanding of logic and the principles of good argument, searching for bias, and the ability to present a considered viewpoint. In this way, many of the criticisms made by opponents of peace education who fear indoctrination can be answered. Teachers must ensure that all sides of the argument and all views are presented fairly, the predominant mode of procedure being discussion and investigation rather than instruction. They must encourage high standards of debate. Indeed, one of the aims of the teacher ought to be to bring pupils to realize the controversial nature of many of the questions they are dealing with. An explicit distinction must, however, always be drawn between peace education in schools and the public awareness activities of peace movements. The latter have particular views to get across and in a democracy it is legitimate for them to use the most effective methods they can to proselytise these views. The school, however, is not in the business of making converts to particular causes, no matter how convinced we might be of their rightness, but ought to concentrate on producing educated, thoughtful citizens who can make up their own minds on issues, with concern for such qualities as evidence, logic and force of argument.

This does not mean, though, that we must accept all opinions as being of equal worth. Hare, in his support for what he points out is often regarded as an unfashionable educational ideal, that of openmindedness, is of the view that we are not committed to a complete relativism. Other people do sincerely hold views different from our own, but

> this does not leave us divided in our minds, for we can be confident that we are right, yet prepared to change our views should it emerge that we are wrong. (Hare, 1981, p. 122.)

Possibly one of the skills students could learn when dealing with controversial issues, is a certain detachment, a suspension of judgement while we are analysing the questions. To quote Hare again:

> It is, of course true that many groups will want to impose their ideologies on others, and not hesitate to ignore, or distort, serious criticism of their views. But it might also be that the only effective

> way to counter this is to encourage the development of the critical values in children. (Hare, 1981, p. 125.)

So far in this paper I have argued that controversial issues, such as those we might deal with in peace education are an important part of the school programme across the curriculum, not only because young people should deal with these crucial questions, but also because they offer valuable opportunities for students to acquire the skills necessary for them to develop into independent thinking and questioning adults. It has been my contention that to approach peace education with a concern for educational skills and attitudes as much as for content provides an answer for many critics of peace education who accuse it of bias and indoctrination, although there will always be adults who will value conformity in children above independence. One question which is often raised is the age at which these controversial issues should be dealt with. It is often argued that although it might be suitable for older teenagers to discuss nuclear questions, for example, these issues are too complex for younger children and will only frighten them.

A key influence in thinking about young children and controversial issues has been the work of Piaget who believes that young children refer mentally only to concrete situations, are incapable of logical thought and cannot think in the abstract sufficiently to discuss complex concepts until they approach their teens. In his review of the Piaget controversy, Short demonstrates the pervasive influence of Piagetian theory on teachers of younger children who show a reluctance to broach controversial issues with their pupils (Short, 1988, p. 16). He is of the opinion that Piaget has seriously underestimated children's cognitive abilities, and that this has been critical as far as the introduction of controversial issues into the primary classroom is concerned. Recent research, however, focussing on issues previously unexplored, or treated differently, shows that young children are less naive politically than has traditionally been assumed (p. 18). Support for this view comes from the research of Nicholls and Nelson whose work with elementary school students in America shows that even young children recognise the lack of social consensus on controversial topics and can make subtle distinctions between them and non-controversial topics. Young students, it appears, "are rather subtle curriculum theorists and critics of educational practices." (Nicholls and Nelson, 1992, p. 229.)

Some of the most important work on peace education for young children has been done by Carlsson-Paige and Levin (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, 1985,

1987). They, in fact, accept, to some extent, Piagetian theory, but they are also aware that issues of war and peace arise both directly and indirectly in early childhood classrooms and therefore adults have a responsibility to deal with them in appropriate ways. Adults, they believe, must be observers and listeners, understanding children's thinking, and using opportunities to discuss war and peace issues when they come up either spontaneously as questions or in play. Teachers in early childhood classrooms need to create an environment and curriculum which can help children learn about war and peace in ways appropriate to their developmental level, and which can help children develop a sense of mastery and control (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, 1985, p. 24). One of the most difficult issues in early childhood education is the dilemma of war play. Mack refers to

> an epidemic of growing proportions: the proliferation of high-tech war toys that encourage children to simulate administering painless death to their playmates and other victims without thought or imagination. (Mack, introduction to Carlsson-Paige & Levin, 1987, p. vi).

In their research with early childhood teachers, Carlsson-Paige and Levin found that the most common response to war play was to ban it, telling the children that they were not to engage in any kind of war and weapons play, on the grounds that such play leads to the development of militaristic attitudes. This procedure, they feel, may satisfy the teachers' need to take a stand against violence, and to eliminate discipline problems that might arise from war play, but it does not adequately meet the needs of children's development, leaving the growth of political understanding to social forces outside of the classroom (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, 1987, p. 45). They advocate as the most fruitful approach that teachers accept children's desire to engage in war and weapon play, but for "teachers to become actively engaged in facilitating the play in order to help children use the play in ways that further their development and their political knowledge." (p. 48) Teachers, they argue, have a direct role in the political socialization of young children (some would no doubt say indoctrination) affecting such concepts as enemies and friends, war and peace and violence as a means of conflict resolution.

This approach asks a great deal of childhood teachers; for many it would go against everything they believe or have been taught (one early childhood educator told me that reading the book "blew her mind"). It expects teachers to assess constantly and honestly whether they are meeting children's

developmental needs or their own. But the authors offer a positive message to teachers of young children, that they are not powerless in the dilemma of war toys and war play, that they can use the play positively to facilitate children's development and do much to foster non-violent, nonmilitaristic political values and concepts.

New Zealand Peace Education: Tradition and Issues

In New Zealand in the 1980's after a period of intense activity and governmental support for peace education (Collinge, 1993), the subject surfaced as an issue in the 1987 General Election. The conservative National Party spokesperson, Ruth Richardson (now Minister of Finance), was vehemently opposed to peace education and a number of rather scurrilous pamphlets from various organisations were distributed. The question of peace education took on all the hallmarks of a "moral panic" producing a sense of outrage (with, it must be said, the help of a conservative press) together with assertions of true values and educational standards. At the time of writing (August 1993) the Labour Party, New Zealand's main opposition party, has just issued its education policy for the General Election to be held in November. Peace studies and conflict resolution are part of the programme (New Zealand Labour Party, 1993).

> Labour will promote the development of environmental education, media studies and peace and conflict resolution programmes. (p. 12)
>
> These learning areas and skills are essential throughout compulsory schooling to ensure that students acquire the communication, problem solving and teamwork skills necessary for further learning and work. (p. 11)

It is significant, if perhaps not unexpected, that immediately the Minister of Education, Dr Lockwood Smith, focussed on this area. He was reported as saying (National Radio News, 27 July, 1993) that the Labour Party's educational policy was full of "warm fuzzies and weasel words" and would take us away from public examinations and back to peace studies and conflict resolution. It appears as though the debate of the 1980's is to be revisited.

Much of the activity in Peace Education in New Zealand schools has been

the result of individual or private initiative such as the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies. One example is the Peace Van, which was started in 1982 by a retired school teacher, Jim Chapple, who bought an old campervan and converted it into a travelling resource centre for schools. With minimal funding, the Peace Van is still going, touring the country, with its teacher Alyn Ware, supported by volunteers, giving lessons in peace issues, development of self-esteem, cooperation, conflict resolution skills, environmental awareness and issues concerning poverty and injustice. The Peace Van has made a significant contribution to the development of peace education in schools, not least because it has brought peace education to schools and teachers who might never have considered it before and thus has been active in breaking down some of the barriers to implementing peace education (Buckland, Jones & Duncan, 1990, p. 19).

Nevertheless, in official circles, even though there is opposition to peace education as such, some hope still remains. Currently New Zealand is undergoing substantial curriculum change and this year a new curriculum framework has been produced. This document (Ministry of Education, 1993), which will form the basis of the school curriculum at all levels is not just concerned with subject matter, but also places great emphasis on the development of essential skills, attitudes and values. Among these are the development of the ability to work in co-operative ways to achieve common goals, to demonstrate respect for the rights of all people and to develop the ability to negotiate and reach consensus. Attitudes and values which are emphasised include respect for others, tolerance, caring, compassion, non-sexism and non-racism. Within the science area there is considerable emphasis on the environment as a field of study, exploring environmental issues both local and global, present and future, which includes ethical questions and values underlying decisions about the use of resources. A section on technology includes a thorough study of the impact technology has on the environment and on the lives of people of different cultures and backgrounds. Perhaps most notably for peace education, the social sciences curriculum emphasises "global issues of public interest" in which "students will be challenged to think clearly and critically about human behaviour" (p. 14). The values which the social sciences should foster are deemed to be those of a "concern for social justice and the welfare of others, acceptance of cultural diversity, and respect for the environment" (p. 14). A curriculum framework, however, is only so many words on paper until it is interpreted by teachers in schools, but there is no doubt that this new curriculum gives the opportunity, and, indeed, can be seen to provide

encouragement for teachers to develop comprehensive programmes of peace education, although they may not give it that name. Despite the absence of direct reference to peace education and conflict resolution, the curriculum does contain one passage which could provide even more support to peace educators:

> At the same time, New Zealand is experiencing some disturbing social trends, such as an increase in the level of violent crime, an increasing number of suicides committed by young people, a high percentage of teenage pregnancies and a high level of alcohol and drug abuse.
>
> These changes have heightened awareness of the importance of education, for the individual, for the community, and for the nation at large. (p. 28)

A New Zealand teacher, wishing to engage in peace education, and seeking a justification to officialdom, need only begin from this passage, and then refer back to the Report of the Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Violence, 1987, a comprehensive official report which dealt with aspects of violence in New Zealand society. This report, which is now largely forgotten, made a strong recommendation for the implementation of Peace Studies at all levels and for the provision of resources to make peace education a reality in schools (Ministry of Justice, 1987, p. 74). It is a matter of some regret that this recommendation has been largely ignored.

As in almost all educational endeavours in New Zealand today, a central role is given to Maori culture and values. The Curriculum Framework states that the New Zealand curriculum recognises the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi, the treaty signed in 1840 between the indigenous Maori people and the British Crown, which after more than a century of neglect, lies at the heart of much New Zealand constitutional, social and cultural life. The curriculum, the document states, "will recognise and value the unique position of Maori in New Zealand society" (p. 7). There are really two aspects to this in schools; a recognition of Maori values, process and procedures in the school system and secondly, the introduction of Maori content into the curriculum. Both, I believe, have implications for peace education.

With respect to the process of learning, the science syllabus states

> the preferred learning and communication styles of Maori students are recognised in the teaching and assessment methods used, for example cooperative learning, holistic approaches.... (Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 11).

The procedures and protocol of the Maori *marae* provide an excellent example of the way in which the skills identified in the first part of this paper, those of critical thinking, debate, analysis, the individual skills if you like, are brought together with a concern for cooperation and consensus, the group or community skills. The *marae* is the physical centre of life of a Maori tribe *(iwi)* or subtribe *(hapu)*. Its buildings include a central meeting house, which is also used for sleeping, and in addition has eating facilities. The *marae* has both ritual significance for the people of that tribe and also functions in a practical sense as a meeting place. It is a place where issues of crucial importance are debated, and functions, ideally, according to a well-defined, traditional protocol. Debate on a *marae* is often vigorous and forthright with nothing held back. The skills of oratory are highly valued. But while all shades of personal opinion may be expressed freely, the aim is a cooperative one, to reach consensus, a freely arrived, cooperative solution to the problem at hand, no matter how long it takes. An important principle is that nothing that is said in debate on the *marae* ought to go off the *marae*, grudges ought not to be held and certainly nothing said, no matter how honest it may be, can be actionable in law. It seems to me that the model of the *marae* with its mixture of individual skills and cooperation is an admirable one when dealing with controversial issues in the classroom[1].

The second element is the content of the curriculum. Here too Maori culture provides models for peace education. Maori men have reputations as fierce warriors, aptly demonstrated in two World Wars. However, what is less well known is that there is also within Maori culture a strong tradition of peace and non violence. The most famous example is that of Parihaka. In the latter part of the 19th century, after the Land Wars of the 1860's, there was widespread confiscation of land from the Maoris, which as Riseborough points out, "created a sense of grievance among the local tribes which continues to affect relations between Maori and European to this day" (Riseborough, 1989, p. vii). The village of Parihaka in Taranaki, led by Te Whiti and Tohu, became a centre of non violent resistance to this confiscation, in a way which, in many respects, anticipates that of Gandhi, many decades later. Te Whiti was a man of peace, whose response to the confiscation of land was to send his men out unarmed, to plough it, an

action which outraged the local settlers. He would not tolerate violence of any kind; if he did not cooperate with the government he certainly did not offer any active opposition, even when his men were arrested. Indeed, at times, he even shared food with the European roadmakers and surveyors, a subtle way of emphasising that they were visitors on his land. The events reached their climax on 5th November, 1881, a black day in New Zealand history, when government troops arrested both Te Whiti and Tohu, while more than 2,000 of their people stood by peacefully. The history of Parihaka is a complex one, but the village is still today a place of peace, and the story makes an admirable and indeed inspiring subject of study in peace education in schools. There are other excellent examples as well, such as Princess Te Puea's opposition to conscription in the First World War, which again led to many arrests.

Peace education, limited to the classroom, the preparation of curriculum materials, no matter how inspiring, and discussion of global issues, while important, can never of course in itself make a full peace education. As Boulding has pointed out:

> It is now becoming clear that peace education has not resulted in *learning peace*. The longing for peace remains, but is unconnected to how people think the world really works. (Boulding, 1987, p. 317)

An important element in "learning peace" is the recognition that negotiation and conflict resolution are ubiquitous processes that go on all the time in daily life. Conflict is a fact of life, but this does not, or at least ought not, involve constant battles, but thousands of mini negotiations, in order to arrive at mutually satisfying solutions. This, says Boulding, is the "peace that already exists; the peace of the negotiated social order" (p. 318).

One of the most exciting peace education initiatives currently operating in a number of New Zealand schools is "The Cool Schools Peer Mediation Programme" which has been developed by the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, in conjunction with Students and Teachers Educating for Peace (STEP) and the Peace Van. Cool Schools is a peer mediation training for use in New Zealand primary schools (ages 5-12) and involves teaching students the techniques required to act as third party mediators when two or more of their peers are caught in a conflict and need help to find a resolution. It was introduced to a few schools on a trial basis in 1991, and is currently used in over 100 schools. There has been interest in the programme expressed from Australia, Germany, Sweden and Ireland. The

Cool Schools programme is too complex to go into fully here, but briefly the training is aimed at two groups, teachers and students. An education centre has been set up in Auckland to train teachers on how to implement the programme in their own classrooms. The courses, which are conducted over one-day sessions, are practical and involve teachers doing the same role play exercises as the students do in their programmes. Courses for teachers have also been held in other parts of the country. A manual has been published which sets out in detail a recommended programme for teachers to follow when training their students in moderation techniques (New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, 1992). The programme involves six, 45 minute sessions which cover the essential moderation skills. The topics of the sessions are

1. Active listening.
2. Affirmations and "I" Statements (how to communicate feelings to others).
3. Recognizing Types of Responses to Conflict.
4. The Role of the Mediator.
5. The Mediation Process.
6. Handling Difficult Situations.

The students are required to keep a work book and to practise the skills outside lessons. Each session also involves cooperative games to help the children to learn to work together[2].

In her evaluation of the programme, Pasco concluded that it has the potential to entrust a new generation with problem solving skills, which may empower them to resolve their own conflicts in a constructive way, rather than resorting to formal processes which are generally seen to disempower individuals (Pasco, 1992, p. 15).

Conclusion

It has been the contention of this paper that issues of peace and war and related environmental and social questions ought to form part of the curriculum of a truly democratic education system. The aim of these studies is not to indoctrinate young people into predetermined positions with respect to controversial questions, but, quite the opposite, to help them develop into independently thinking and questioning adults. Thus the paper places an emphasis on the skills students should develop in peace education, such as the principles of presenting a well-considered argument, concern

for evidence and logic, and an awareness of bias. One model put forward is Paolo Freire's education for critical consciousness through the study of generative themes. The paper has also argued that controversial issues such as those we might deal with in peace education should not be limited to older students. Even quite complex issues, such as nuclear weapons, are of concern to young children and should be dealt with at a level appropriate to their development. This is true even in early childhood education, where the desire of some children to play war games could be the basis for political and social education .

The second part of the paper looked at some curriculum developments in New Zealand education, in which, even though there is no official support for peace education, there is scope within the new curriculum for concerned teachers to deal with peace issues. Learning peace, however, is more than just curriculum development; it is concerned with the process of education as much as with content and all aspects of the life of the school, both inside and outside the classroom are involved.

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[1] I am grateful to Mr Bernie Kernot of the Maori Department, Victoria University of Wellington, for help with this section.

[2] Further information on the programme can be obtained from New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, PO Box 4110, Auckland 1, New Zealand.

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THE TEACHING OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND NONVIOLENCE IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS: A CONTEXT FOR PEACE EDUCATION

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Acts of violence, like the miseries of the poor, are always with us. *Racist Violence*, the report of the national inquiry into racist violence in Australia (1991), runs to over five hundred pages. Controversial court cases in Australia favouring Aboriginal people have produced recently an ugly backlash. In New South Wales state schools, during first term 1993 fifty cases of serious violence, one a day for each day of the school term, are reported to the Departmental authorities. It is up to the principal's discretion to decide whether the case is serious enough to report. Presumably routine brawls and fights don't rate a mention. There has been a sickening spate of murders of gay men by senior school students or recent school leavers reported in the Sydney press. Violence in Australian schools is a reflection in part on violence in the wider Australian society: at least one family in five in Australia is directly affected by violence and 20% of the Australian population condone the resolution of conflict by violence in some circumstances (Butterworth & Fulmer, 1991, p. 107). Violence is indeed a scarlet thread running through Australian society.

In response to such a Pandora's box of horrors, utterly central to the specific objectives or goals of peace education must be an emphasis on conflict resolution and nonviolent alternatives. In Australia, such concerns, at times, have been overshadowed by structural violence issues, conflict resolution being seen as putting out bushfires which should have been fanned

into major conflagrations and nonviolence has been slighted as being part of "the intellectual ghetto of pacifism."

This paper is concerned with placing conflict resolution and nonviolent alternatives firmly at the centre of peace education. A brief review of theoretical tendencies in peace education in Australia is offered and how this is consonant with, and different from, what is actually taught in Australian schools. Some discussion is also given of the teaching of conflict resolution and nonviolent alternatives in schools in various Australian states. It could be argued that the practice of peace education in Australian schools in some ways has gone ahead of theory.

One of the first attempts to mark out the field of peace education in the Australian context was Rachel Sharp's 1984 account, "Varieties of Peace Education", which received wide currency in Australian peace studies circles, surfacing even in quasi-official documents from Departmental Curriculum offices. Sharp's account detected five emphases in peace education as follows: (1) peace education as peace through strength; (2) peace education as conflict mediation and resolution; (3) peace education as personal peace; (4) peace education as world order; (5) peace education as the abolition of power relationships. Sharp contended "inevitably when a new curriculum area begins to emerge, its boundaries will be relatively fluid. This will be even more the case where the area in question is regarded as controversial as peace education" (Sharp, 1984, p. 249). Sharp's observations are still true even if the five categories of peace education delineated above have been somewhat transformed. While Sharp is careful to say that "none of the above approaches are to be considered as mutually exclusive" this is then modified in the next breath by saying that "not all the above views are mutually compatible or share the same consequences in terms of moulding social attitudes or actions" (ibid., p. 250). Because Sharp's view of peace education is critical and challenging of power at every level and wants the eventual goal of a classless society, Sharp expects little to be achieved in schools regarding peace education and places her hope rather in non formal education, in social movements and voluntary associations.

The seeds of Sharp's discussion fell on ground already well tilled as the earliest stirrings of peace education in Australia (in its current manifestation) have always been concerned with the specific social structural peace concerns of education and reflect the unease of Australian peace educators living in a "North" country in the "South". To this day, as reflected in the most recent annual conference of the Australian Peace Education and Research Association (Hobart 1993) education officers of various development

agencies made central contributions to the conference. By comparison, conflict resolution in Australia, in some eyes, is seen as being too readily manipulated by and assimilated to the concerns of big business, and as for nonviolence, it is seen as a museum piece, restricted to a surviving remnant of Gandhians, even in India. Meanwhile, of course, children are still being beaten up in schools. It is ironic that what peace education has to offer, disparaged for so long, is now being turned to by Australian educational authorities, as violence in Australia, at the moment, is on an increasing spiral.

There has been, for example, a considerable backlash against the Aboriginal population of Australia as a result of the Mabo case. Ten years after Eddie Mabo and four other Torres Strait Islander inhabitants of the Murray Islands began action for a declaration of native title to their traditional lands, the High Court of Australia decided in favour of the Mabo claim (3rd June 1992). There are many complex and unresolved issues arising form this High Court decision but the following facts remain:

(1) The myth of *terra nullis* is exploded. Australia was occupied when the British took possession (textbooks are now starting to talk about British *invaders* not settlers.) (2) Australian law recognizes native title. This title is inalienable. (3) Native title can exist only where indigenous people have a continuing traditional connection with land.

Apprehension is widespread through ignorance of the Mabo case decisions. Many nonAboriginal Australians feared they would lose their land whereas the Mabo decision specifically stated that native title has been extinguished where the Crown has granted freehold title over land.

Education departments have in recent years appointed anti-racist coordinators and most states have formal anti-racist policies. Adding to racism in Australia was the backlash against the large Moslem population in Australia as a result of the Labor Party Prime Minister Bob Hawke's endorsement of the United States role in the Gulf War. It is interesting to note that NSW Department of School Education appointed two Aboriginal consultants to deal with anti-racist issues at the time of the Gulf War relations.

Anti-racist policy and multicultural education policy in Australia are increasingly seen as synonymous (rather than multiculturalism simply being seen as celebrating cultural differences in food, costume, music, dance and the like). With the exception of Israel, Australia has the most ethnically diverse population in the world with some 100 ethnic groups speaking some eighty immigrant languages (Castles et al., 1988, p. 25). Today four out of every ten Australians are immigrants or the children of immigrants, half of them from non-English speaking backgrounds (Advisory Council on Multi-

cultural Affairs, 1988, p. 1). Aboriginal Australians, whose languages and culture flourished in Australia for at least 40,000 years are less than 2 percent of the population (there are about 150 Aboriginal languages extant).

What this all means, of course, is that peace education in Australia is inextricably bound up with anti-racist education and multicultural education. Just as searching for a single theory of peace education is a vain quest (many different philosophical perspectives feeding into peace education) similarly peace education continues to reflect different emphases in different countries. Discussion of "enemy images" for example, doesn't make much sense in the Australian context – here the Australian Defence Forces high profile in international peacekeeping forces – yet coming to grips with pervasive racism, ranks very high on the Australian educational agenda.

Schools systems in Australia whether they like it or not are plunged into confronting a great number of issues concerning violence and racism. At the time of the outbreak of the Gulf War the Australian Peace Education and Research Association wrote to all State Education Ministers and received responses (from all save one department) along the following lines (Australian Peace Education and Research News Bulletin, June, 1991, pp. 3-5):

> Even before the outbreak of the war in the middle of January the Ministry had decided to set up a project to ensure that timely and appropriate action was taken to minimize conflict in schools arising, as you put it, from "racism, stereotyping and ill-informed negative attitudes towards certain ethnic and religious groups." (Victoria)
>
> The Gulf War has been an issue of world concern and this has been reflected in teachers' responses. Many of our teachers have, since school commenced this year, taken time in their classrooms to deal with background materials and to answer their students' concerns. (Western Australia)

It is heartening to see that controversial issues such as Aboriginal land rights, Australian government foreign policy, uranium mining, and logging of rainforest areas are on the agenda in Australian schools. For example, in *Active and Informed Citizenship: Information for Teachers*, sent to Queensland state teachers, the Fitzgerald Report [Qld. 1990] was invoked: "people of differing opinions have the right to express those opinions, and to act peacefully to bring their arguments to the attention of the wider community". (Fitzgerald headed an inquiry into police corruption in Queensland.)

Not only are controversial issues now dealt with in Australian schools in

an open way that would have been rare even ten years ago but a surprising amount of work is going on in Australian schools which is peace education even if the teachers practising it are sometimes as surprised as that character of Moliere's who found out that he had been speaking prose all his life.

In response to my enquiries state departments produced accounts and curriculum documents as well as extracts form syllabuses showing involvement with conflict resolution and nonviolence. The replies were not only detailed but clearly wishing to be seen as proactive in the field of conflict resolution and nonviolent alternatives as the following account illustrates (space precludes discussion of activities in all states).

The Northern Territory Department of Education gave full information. Given the Northern Territory's highly diverse population – Aboriginal Australians, Anglo-Australians and many ethnic groups – it was particularly interesting to note that *Social Education* is a compulsory subject for all Northern Territory secondary students (years 7-10). One of the units in this *Social Education* course is Conflict and Conflict Resolution. The organizing principle for the unit is "mechanisms for resolving conflict" at interpersonal, national and international levels. The unit includes sections on structural conflict and reactive violence. Because Darwin (the capital of the Northern Territory) has many refugees from East Timor and also because Indonesia has taken the unusual step of having consular representation in Darwin it is revealing to note that examples given under the structural conflict section include – "the fate of dissidents in countries with little real commitments to human rights, eg. USSR, Argentina and Indonesia". Under reactive violence are listed Fretlin in East Timor; Free Papua Movement in Irian Jaya; Kanaks in New Caledonia.

The course bristles with controversial issues and it suggests that teachers invite speakers from organizations involved in "working towards nonviolent solutions to conflict" eg. "People for Nuclear Disarmament". It is then suggested that speakers be invited from organizations that "see violence as regrettable but inevitable", eg. the Returned Services League, the Armed Forces.

In its stress on the threefold layers of conflict resolution – interpersonal, national and international – the Northern Territory school course is using a framework that some Peace Studies courses use in Australian Universities (including the author's) and it is encouraging to note that all secondary students in the Northern Territory are exposed to some of this material.

Queensland, like the Northern Territory, has a long tradition of conservative government so the controversial nature or potentially controversial

nature of much of the subject matter of the curriculum is quite surprising (although Queensland currently has a Labor Government).

The Queensland Department of Education has designated "Active and Informed Citizenship" as a departmental priority for 1993-97. Knowledge and understanding of democratic process, including conflict resolution is viewed as a major component of this priority. To this end an impressive document *Active and Informed Citizenship: Information For Teachers* has been produced for wide distribution. The manual provides illustrations of how principles of Active and Informed Citizenship can be incorporated into various curriculum areas (samples of which are given in the appendices). "The contestable nature" of the content is frankly acknowledged and the active and informed citizenship movement keeps alive the momentum of peace education conferences in Queensland – for example the Australian Peace Education and Research Association held its annual conference in Brisbane in 1991 with Johan Galtung as a keynote speaker. (Similarly the Conflict Resolution Network based in Sydney carries on much of the concerns of peace education by its consultants being widely used in state schools as well as state teachers attending Conflict Resolution Workshops).

In Queensland schools students encounter conflict resolution in the junior secondary years (years 8-10) in their study of citizenship education, history, social education, social science, social studies and study of society. During senior schooling (years 11-12) students also experience conflict resolution learnings in their study of ancient history, geography, legal studies, modern history, political studies and the study of society.

Similar claims could be made of the curriculum areas in New South Wales schools, particularly through the compulsory Personal Development, Health and Physical Education, a designated key learning area for years 7-10. Two initiatives in New South Wales schools deserve particular attention: the teaching of General Studies and the production of *Resources for Teaching Against Violence* produced by the New South Wales Department of School Education.

General Studies counts as a one unit elective for the Higher School Certificate. It is a popular elective with some eighteen thousand students taking it, approximately a quarter of the students sitting for the final secondary examination. There are ten topics in the general studies course many of which particularly bear on peace education concerns: for example, science, technology and society; prejudice and discrimination; conflict and conflict resolution. (A breakdown of the issues treated in the conflict resolution topic and a sample page of programming suggestions from the *Support*

Document for General Studies (115 pages) is included in the appendices.)

Although much of general studies is controversial even more so is the *Resources For Teaching Against Violence*. The resource material has three sections. While managing aggressive and disruptive student behaviour and affects of domestic violence (the first two sections) cover much familiar ground firmly rooted in conflict resolution literature, the third division dealing with violence against homosexual men and women (homophobia) breaks new ground in the Australian context. This section includes a set of 6 modules addressing issues of homosexuality, discrimination and violence. It includes lesson plans, handouts and overhead masters and is suitable for years 9-12. These materials are very extensive.

Two hundred and fifty kits have been given to education resource centres, student welfare counsellors and regional guidance officers. It is envisaged that all of the state's 480 secondary schools will receive a kit of the materials. The HIV/AIDS Education Curriculum Adviser, Kevill Gardner who helped produce the alternatives to violence materials for the New South Wales Department of School Education is now working on a video, *Mates*, to be released, it is hoped, on World Aids Day (1st December). Again the video will reflect a welding together of the emphases of conflict resolution and alternatives to violence.

This brief survey of some of the activities in selected Australian states shows a surprising amount of activity in the peace education area, even if the term as such is rarely used at the school level. Obviously much of the impetus comes from increased violence in schools which is now the subject of all-political party inquiring commissioned by the House of Representatives of the Australian parliament, which is seeking submissions on alternatives to violence.

Alternatives to Violence is actually the name of an organization founded in 1975 with ties to the Quakers. It began when an inmate group at Green Haven prison (U.S.A.) was working with young gangs and teenagers at risk but they were having difficulty communicating their message about the consequences of violence. They sought help from the Quakers to conduct a workshop for them. Over the years *Alternatives* to *Violence* have produced basic and advanced manuals as well as a training for trainers manual. (For details see Alternatives to Violence Project, 3049 East Genesee Street, Room 204, Syracuse, New York 13224.) Much of the material and processes are standard conflict resolution fare but strongly linked to nonviolence themes – a most fruitful combination. (At the Quaker Meeting House in Sydney the first Alternatives to Violence workshop was co-led by a mem-

ber of the Conflict Resolution Network (Sydney) as well as a New York trained Alternatives to Violence worker.)

This is of symbolic importance for peace education: bringing together the traditions of conflict resolution and nonviolence training (which often lead separatives lives) is a step forward. It may well be a new impetus and direction for peace education generally.

The connections are not often made because conflict resolution and nonviolence are often not understood separately, let alone as a combined entity. Witness the substitutes for Gandhi's *Satyagraha* – passive resistance, nonviolent resistance, nonviolent direct action, nonviolent action, and most recently active nonviolence (Shepard, 1987, p. viii).

Active nonviolence dispels the notion of submissiveness, letting others take advantage of one, supine passivity. Similarly, when conflict resolution is stripped of false associations such as compromise and splitting the difference, a clearer picture emerges of both the traditions of conflict resolution and nonviolence as life-affirming responses to violence, the very heart of peace education.

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ACTIVE AND INFORMED CITIZENSHIP ISSUES IN STUDIES PROGRAMS

A&IC key elements	Studies programs by national curriculum areas	
	Studies of Society and Environment	**Health and Physical Education**
Values democratic processes social justice ecological sustainability	Does the program focus on: developing ethical and cooperative personal values, recognition of minority groups and the need to change discriminatory practices, building empathy with people from many cultures, concern for the welfare, rights and dignity of all, regard for the quality of life for present and future generations, and respect for the well-being of all living creatures?	Are students encouraged to develop their own goals, skills and processes relating to health? Are cultural, gender and socio-economic factors considered when addressing health related behaviours? Does the program focus on developing sustainable healthy futures?
Knowledge democratic rights and responsibilities historical perspectives cultural diversity inter-relatedness	Are students made aware of: their fundamental democratic freedoms and civil liberties, the struggle by many groups for those freedoms and liberties, how various social systems affect peoples' citizenship rights and responsibilities, and how our current ideas about citizenship have changed over the years?	Are students encouraged to take a critical approach to factors which impinge on health? (eg. government decisions, patterns of working, employment, education, media, housing, poverty, gender relations, sexuality and sexual harassment)
Cognitive Processes active investigative learning critical and creative thinking decision-making and problem solving	What systematic opportunities are provided for students to learn to be active, critical investigators and creative problem solvers concerning important social and environmental issues?	Are students taught skills in management and problem solving in relation to health goals? Do students solve problems within the context of their own environment?
Action Skills personal inter-personal community participation	Do students experience real-life learning opportunities to develop cooperative behaviour and conflict resolution skills? Does the program provide opportunities for students to actively engage in community problem solving on social and environmental issues?	Are students encouraged to take action to influence health related laws, policies, regulations, services and products? Are students taught to be assertive in resisting pressures to behave in a way which is not consistent with their health goals? (eg. peer pressure)

From Active and Informed Citizenship: Information For Teachers. Studies Directorate. Department of Education, Queensland, 1993.

ACTIVE AND INFORMED CITIZENSHIP ISSUES IN STUDIES PROGRAMS continued

A&IC key elements	Studies programs by national curriculum areas	
	Science	**Technology**
Values democratic processes social justice ecological sustainability	Does the program examine ethical positions on development issues such as; the application of scientific theories and practices in socially just and ecologically sustainable ways? Does the program ensure access to and involvement in scientific courses of study?	Does the program value enabling technology for people with disabilities? Do all students have opportunities to develop competence in the range of technological learning available in the school? How ecologically sound are the technologies used in the school?
Knowledge democratic rights and responsibilities historical perspectives diversity inter-relatedness	Are students informed about, the debate concerning scientific research and its ethical implications, the history of scientific theories and their influence on the way some people view the world, and the effect of scientific developments on natural systems?	Does the program acknowledge the important contribution of Aboriginal technologies and Torres Strait Islander technologies to our understanding of the Australian environment? Are students able to explore some of the consequences of technologies being applied to or identified with different groups according to culture, gender etc
Cognitive Processes active investigative learning critical and creative thinking decision-making and problem solving	Are students encouraged to be active and investigative learners through provision of appropriate resources eg specific modifications for students with physical impairments. Are students assisted to develop critical skills in decision making and problem solving when investigating scientific and environmental issues? Are students encouraged to critically examine 'western' scientific thought and understand that there are other equally valid ways of viewing the world eg. The Dreaming.	Are learning and teaching activities based on a range of technologies, not just electrical or electronic ones? Do learning and teaching activities promote an informed and critical view of the development and use of technology? Do learning and teaching activities demonstrate the potential of technology to enhance active, creative problem-solving by students? Are students encouraged to identify values embedded in technological products eg computer software?
Action Skills personal inter-personal community participation	Are students engaged in a range of learning styles including self-directed cooperative and experiential learning that involves participation in community problem solving?	Are students encouraged to use technology in ways appropriate to the context and task? Are students able to apply technological knowledge and experiences to create outcomes that meet human needs? Some students are technologically more informed and skilled than many teachers: is this acknowledged in the program? Is community participation in decisions made about the use of technologies in the school encouraged and supported?

General Studies, Syllabus Years 11-12, NSW.

8 Conflict and Conflict Resolution

This topic focuses on problems of conflict at the individual, group, national and global levels and means of achieving peace.

Issues relevant to this topic include:

- sources of conflict at all levels such as competition for power, status and resources, conflicting ideologies, imperialism and colonialism;
- types of conflict among nations such as international wars, wars of foreign intervention;
- types of conflict within nations: violent rebellions, revolutions, coups and attempted coups, civil wars, structural violence, violations of human rights, and non-violent demonstrations including civil disobedience and strikes;
- the relationship between conflict and social change;
- moral and other issues arising from the causes, conduct and consequences of violent conflict;
- the arms trade, stockpiling of arms and disarmament;
- role and methods of peace movements in promoting international peace;
- attempts to minimise conflict by government and non-government institutions such as the United Nations, its agencies and Amnesty International;
- means of achieving resolution of conflict at all levels.

Programming suggestions for Topic 8: Conflict and Conflict Resolution

OBJECTIVES OUTCOMES	CONTENT	TEACHING METHODS LEARNING STRATEGIES	RESOURCES
K1 S6a,b V2	1. **Definitions** a. Conflict (i) Violent, destructive (ii) Non-violent, creative b. Peace	*Discussion* (15 mins) How may conflict be creative? Is peace more than the absence of violence	H Cornelius & S Faire, **Everyone Can Win: How to Resolve Conflict** (Brookvale, NSW, Simon & Schuster 1989), pp11-12, 27-36
K1a	2. **Levels of conflict** a. Interpersonal, eg family b. Community, eg over a polluting factory c. National, eg over uranium mining, immigration policy d. International, eg territorial disputes, wars		
S1,4,6 V2,3	3. **How conflicts arise** Discomfort - Incidents - Misunderstandings - Tensions - Crisis	*Discussion* (10 mins) How can these five stages be applied to a local conflict? To a recent war?	Everyone Can Win, pp.12-14
K2 S1,6 V2,3,4	4. **Sources of conflict** a. Competition for power/status/prestige b. Competition for resources/territory/markets c. Conflicting ideologies - political/religious, to extend or defend d. Inter-ethnic/racial gender conflict e. Imperialism and colonialism	*Brainstorming* (10 mins) Generate a blackboard summary of examples of local, national or international conflicts caused by each of these sources.	**Gaia Peace Atlas**, pp.60-62 R Hall & L Scott, **Global Issues**, (Milton, Qld, Jacaranda, 1987) pp330-334 F Hutchinson & L Waddell, **People, Problems and Planet Earth**, 2nd ed. (Melbourne, Macmillan 1986), pp.204-206

PEACE EDUCATION IN TEACHER TRAINING: SOME EXAMPLES

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"I feel that our educational institutions are in a desperate state; and that unless our schools can become exciting, fun-filled centers of learning, they are quite possibly doomed."

Carl Rogers

Introductory Remarks

Most of the courses at university – lectures, seminars, classes – are structured in a course-like, theoretical way. They are mainly orientated towards a traditional understanding of science which considers research and teaching very often independent from social and political contexts.

- Courses often follow more than necessary the system of subjects that are related to school subjects; their variety is a burden for students and teachers.
- Classes often isolate facts from political, economic and social contexts that should not be separated from one another.

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* This paper refers to an article written by Norbert H. Weber and myself for the Report of the 6th International Workshop on Peace Education

(Poznan, Poland, September 1-8, 1992).

- We consider methods that stress project-orientated work more adequate to show the complex structure of educational and also peace educational problems.

The present conditions of study in teacher training at German colleges and universities are characterized by bureaucratic exam requirements which have led to a "credit mentality" complained about for a long time. This is caused mainly by the wide expansion of subject-related study in contrast to studies in social sciences and education, a development which can be seen as a late reaction by the state to students and young teachers in the late sixties and early seventies who were politically aware and last but not least to the poor prospects for young academics looking for a job. The study regulations for the course of studies in education for teacher training students at the Technical University of Berlin require only six classes which last one semester (six months) each. Two of them are already covered by introductory courses (Introduction to Education and a preparatory class for the first practical in school) that are obligatory. In the remaining four classes students have the possibility to select classes of their liking and interests that deal with different educational topics, though the main focus need not necessarily be on society-related problems. It cannot be decided how much time the students will then have left to devote to topics on peace education as part of general studies in education.

If results in peace education are to have not only some academic value but also some importance that can be applied in social contexts, it is not possible to reduce those topics to just one class.

Most courses of study in German teacher training still do not provide students with the necessary qualifications that would enable them to meet the demands of teaching political subjects in school. The aim is to equip students to organize self-responsible learning within social participation. The necessary qualification to act in social contexts, e.g. in a group of pupils or students at school, has traditionally been "taught" in a more abstract way.

Project-orientated work, as we have practised it for years, calls for long-term motivation and additional commitment of the students on the one hand – which they themselves have provided – (cf. Hicks & Steiner, 1989; Pike & Selby, 1988; Rathenow, 1993) and requires techniques for facilitating self-experiential learning on the part of the instructors on the other hand.

Project-Orientated Work

Project-orientated work leads the participants towards a common process of learning and experiencing. It is characterized by a number of elements that correspond interdependently.

- Projects on university level, in which solutions for social problems are thought about, answers are phrased, and methods become tested, are dependent on cooperative planning, execution and evaluation on an interdisciplinary basis.
- Projects should refer to social problems and to the future profession of students. This requires methods of activity-based learning.
- The results of such projects should have an impact on the social surroundings (universities, schools, community). Then the project – planned and carried out in cooperation – illustrates a concrete and direct way of promoting and supporting the commitment of students. The orientation towards a product delivers better results than a written paper or an oral presentation (cf. Valk, 1984).
- Project work on social and political problems in the field of education has to be a part of applied peace education itself, according to the slogan: "Practise what you preach". Along with the reference to a commonly approached aim as the result of cooperative planning we consider process-orientated learning a fundamental part of university education.

The collective production of results can only be successful if phases of reflexion and meta-communication follow phases of long and intensive work. At that point students and teachers should talk about the process of working, the solving of problems that arose during the work, the way conflicts between group members developed and how they were overcome.

The university can offer a "conflict-free zone" for the "peaceful" coping with problems and therefore enable students to develop abilities such as distance towards the role, empathy, tolerance of ambiguities and developing an identity (cf. Krappmann, 1971; adapted by Wulf, 1992).

If students succeed in the realization of these qualifications in an atmosphere of social and emotional security (cf. Loewer, 1984) in the group and if they succeed in producing results on the topic worked on, they are better prepared for conflicts outside university, school or in the community. When teachers plan to work project-orientated they should be capable of working with techniques (Gestalt therapy/pedagogy, global education approach, group training methods) which make it easier to

sensitize students for problems of communication and interaction. In this context it seems important to us that teachers show credibility and get involved with the group.

With the projects on peace education we have carried out at the Technical University of Berlin since 1980, we have always tried to take the criteria noted above into consideration. The two following examples of projects combine a selection of different methods and techniques that can also be transferred to learning in school.

Project: Street Theatre

Notes concerning the term

Since the1920s street theatre – familiar from the Soviet Union and the Weimar Republic – was set up as political theatre.

Erwin Piscator, who invested great effort in the "Proletarian Theatre" founded in 1920, related it in the beginning to the concept of class struggle. Without applying the standards of bourgeois art, they played on the streets, in assembly rooms and local pubs in the working class areas of Berlin with the intention of explaining political problems to people in a lively manner (agitprop theatre).

In that respect street theatre was originally theatre for workers by workers.

Agitation and propaganda in the sense of Piscator's "Confessional Theatre" prompted students at the end of the sixties to rediscover this form of theatre. In contrast to the agitprop campaigns of the Weimar Republic in Germany, street theatre became a means of propagating the goals of the student movement at the end of the sixties. In this context the "Socialist Street Theatre of Berlin (West)" which became popular far beyond the city's boundaries has to be mentioned.

Street theatre as we know it from the student movement is characterized by a number of elements of style which are to be named here briefly (cf. Arbeitsgruppe Friedenspädagogik, 1982):

- Street theatre is marked by a lively presentation on the one hand and standardization on the other; abstract concepts and real, existing ones are portrayed with the help of prototypes. Single persons are merely representatives of their class or of objects respectively (i.e. the capitalist, the worker, the housewife, force, fear).

- Language is the most effective means of expression. It consists of repetitions, enumerations, parallelisms, thesis and anti-thesis, parodies and puns, and is directed towards the people addressed. First of all the subject is presented to the spectators. Only thereafter is their own thinking called for.
- Music is another important element: on the one hand it functions as background, on the other hand there are independent songs worked into the programme. Its purpose is also to attract spectators and listeners and to create an atmosphere.
- The distribution of leaflets during and after the performance is an essential part of the street action. Thereby the spectators become involved in the play(ing) and get the opportunity to discuss the contents with the players. Play and reality merge into one another.

The contents of the play

The preceding elements of street theatre were the basis for the student project that, among others, took place in a course on peace education which was carried out in cooperation with Achim Hellmich of the Institute of Elementary School Education at the Technical University of Berlin.

The controversial discussion in society on the resolution of further armament by NATO (NATO-Nachrüstungsbeschluß) caused a sense of fear in many students, too. It was the main motivation for the commitment of students in that course. As the discussions in the course depicted many fears, such as the fear of suffering, death, rape, inhumanity, callousness, loss of love, loss of beloved people, boundless injustice and oppression, were concealed behind the commitment. Turning these fears into productive energy was the aim of the group. The 20-minute play, which the students developed under their own direction, puts a scenic dialogue with the title "I am frightened" ("Ich habe Angst") or "Awake from your apathy" ("Erwacht aus eurer Gleichgültigkeit") into the centre of the play :

"People with white plaster masks follow stylized activities. The occupations are repeated in a stereotyped fashion so as to create a sense of paralysis, indifference and isolation. After one to two minutes a woman without a mask steps among the masked persons. She is hectic and agitated.

Woman: I've got a problem! I have to talk with somebody! Won't anybody listen to me? (She addresses single people.) Can I talk to you? Will you listen to me? Stop doing that, listen to me, please. What's the matter with

you? I have to talk with you. I've got a problem. Why doesn't anybody listen to me? Won't you listen to me?

Man: (with a half-mask, joining her) What's the matter here? What kind of problem have you got? If you have a problem, just go ahead and talk about it.

Woman: I'm afraid, I'm afraid of war!

Man: War, war, where is war? Do any of you see war? There is no war here!

Woman: Look round you, there are signs everywhere: unemployment is one for example, we have about two million people that are out of work!

...

Woman: You call that peace? Peace, when there is violence all over the world. In our society children are beaten, women are raped ...

Man: Yes, I, too, am afraid of this world, this life, why do you think all these people and I wear these masks? - Because we are frightened ... We are numbed, can you wake us up?

Woman: Show your fear, take your masks away, let us join up to gain strength, to be strong and powerful ...

Man: Against violence which makes us speechless, against the mendacity of politics which makes our will submissive and obedient and clouds our brain.

Man and Woman: Remove your masks, join together. We will win against fear, we will triumph over fear. Awake! It's time to live!"

The piece ends with the poem "Say no!" by Wolfgang Borchert, recited by the whole group.

Evaluation

The students performed the play three times in public, first in the Wilmersdorfer Straße, one of the main shopping areas in Berlin, then in the refectory of the university and finally at the "First International Workshop on Peace Education" in 1982. The following evaluation refers to the first performance which was particularly impressive. The students write in their report: "We planned to perform the play in the Wilmersdorfer Straße. It was very cold on the fixed day. Our feet were cold, our hands freezing and our bodies were shivering – not only from the cold. On our way to the place of performance we distributed leaflets in order to draw attention to the action. This was supported by the wearing of the masks, a means to show the stereotype manner of the problems of the play. Even at this point there were some alarming reactions from pedestrians: 'Go to the East', 'leave us alone', 'You don't dare to move around without masks, there is a ban on wearing masks!', 'Concentration camps should be built for you'." (Cf. Arbeitsgruppe Friedenspädagogik, 1982, p. 176.)

Though the applause of the spectators was less intense and the discussions were shorter than we had expected, a positive mood was soon built up in the group. The feeling of having conducted a joint action with some effect in public made the group self-confident and gave it a feeling of solidarity. Through this action the group felt they had become a part of the peace movement by turning into an affirmation group.

The willingness to act, political courage and the ability to transfer the knowledge acquired in the course was demonstrated by the students. In that respect they carried out Piscator's claim that political theatre has the task to "come to terms with the 'unmastered' and to teach what was missing. Till then the theatre cannot be unpolitical and keep a distance even at the danger of certain artistic shortcomings" (Piscator, 1965).

Project: Workshop

Notes concerning the term

Though "workshops" have become well-known as a means of educational work outside school during the last ten years, in schools and universities they have been worked with mainly in the field of arts and music. Starting from experiences that have been gained with this method at international meetings we consider this way of learning particularly suitable for work in peace education at university level. In cooperation with the late Léon Valk,

a colleague from the Netherlands, we developed the concept of the International Workshop on Peace Education which was intended for students of the teaching profession and for students of social education. Since then we have organized six workshops on peace education in cooperation with our colleagues from different countries at which representatives of the following institutions participated:

Denmark	*Royal Danish School of Education Studies*
Great Britain	*Centre for Global Education, University of York* *West Midlands College of Higher Education, Walsall/Birmingham* *School of Education, University of Exeter*
Lithuania	*University of Education at Vilnius*
The Netherlands	*Noordelijke Hogeschool Leeuwarden/Groningen*
Poland	*Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poznan/Posen*
Hungary	*Centre for School and Curriculum Development, Budapest* *University of Pecs*
United States of America	*Linn-Benton Community College, Albany, Oregon* *Skagit Valley College, Mount Vernon, Washington*
Germany	*Technical University of Berlin* *Berlin Academy of Arts and Music*

In contrast to usual conferences and meetings we compare workshops (on peace education) with studio work, where students and teachers work together for a limited period of time on a question that was jointly developed on the basis of equal rights and knowledge of the subject. This is

how work achieves its workshop character, whereas participants at conferences or meetings often remain rather receptive, a fact that accounts for the heteronomy which is in many cases considered a strain. The product which has to be developed by the teams does not stand in the middle of nowhere; it is usually the further development of the results that had been worked out in the preparation by students in the national teams.

Characteristics of teaching methods in a workshop format

On the basis of our experiences with workshops up to the present day we have identified a number of basic features which certify the workshop as a method in the field of teacher education:

- To improve communication among the participants of the workshop, communication games and exercises like the ones offered in the global education approach (cf. Pike & Selby, 1988) can be recommended at the beginning and during the workshop. These *self-experiential exercises* not only serve the getting-to-know-you-process but also help to overcome language barriers at the outset.
- For the communication process it is essential that all participants of the workshop have acquired *basic knowledge of the topics of the workshop*. Furthermore central terms like "peace"," war", "violence", "nationalism", "ethnocentrism" as well as "prejudices" and "enemy images" should have been discussed in the preparatory meetings, because they tend to have different meanings. Communication among the participants can be made easier by the *exchange of written material* on school systems and teacher training.
- It is also helpful to *emphasize topics of primary focus* which are related to the contents of the workshop and which have also been worked on at the respective universities. If there are not any current situations, like the Gulf War or the war in former Yugoslavia that concern the public at the time being, the contents of teaching materials or excursions can be prepared. The planning should always be flexible so as to *integrate current political events* into the work.
- According to the meaning of the term "workshop" the *preparation of the topics* is the basis for the work of the international groups. The results worked out will be presented and discussed, then they merge into a new product, determined by the participants of the working groups. In this respect the *workshop is method* as well.
- The teacher of the workshop can be described as a *"facilitator"*, as a competent, expert helper in contrast to a lecturing authority. *Process-*

oriented working requires sensitivity in dealing with the usual leadership. "It is a risky thing for a person to become a facilitator of learning rather than a teacher. It means uncertainties, difficulties, setbacks – and also exciting human adventure, as students begin to blossom." (Rogers, 1983, p. 137.)

The production of results can be documented in different ways. At our workshops we published

- written results on *notice boards and posters*,
- partial results immediately in *the workshop newsletter* that was published every morning.

With the help of these means of publishing our results, the participants were enabled to keep themselves informed on the work of the individual teams.

- The results were then made public at a *"market stall"* and received by a public that was critical and interested.
- Finally the results were published in a *booklet in German and/or Dutch*.

Aims of the workshop

These workshops, which brought together almost 400 dedicated teachers, educators, students and social workers from different countries, focused on a series of key issues and main problems: They were aimed at the *presentation and discussion of basic problems of peace education, peace research and the peace movement* of the countries that sent participating students.

One of the main regular issues has so far been the East-West conflict, as is mirrored in titles like "Cold War", "Iron Curtain" and "Communist Power". After the collapse of the communist system in Eastern European countries, topics such as *economic problems in East and West*, forces of *nationalism, ethnic minorities* seeking political independence or annexation by another state have become more important.

Workshops on peace education make the participants become aware of the *stereotypes, cliches, prejudices* and *enemy images* they have in their own thinking and feeling. With the help of special exercises we tried to portray auto- and heterostereotypes of the participating nations, i.e. peppers, the Puzta and Lake Balaton as a description for Hungary, clogs, tulips and windmills as stereotypes for the Netherlands and soccer, punctuality, cleanliness, Sauerkraut and beer for Germany.

Local aspects and organization

We would advise arranging a *preparatory meeting* with students and teachers at the place where the workshop is to take place in order to find out about the local conditions (i.e. venue, room and board, technical facilities) of the workshop. The *historical importance of a place* might be the decisive factor for its selection, as was the case in 1984 when Coventry, whose cathedral was destroyed by the Germans during the war and later built up as a memorial, was chosen. In 1988 Berlin was selected as the place where the workshop was to take place as it was on the borderline between East and West.

In order not to experience the place of the workshop solely as the place of the conference, we arranged *excursions* into the surrounding area. It was important to us that they were in some way *related to peace education*. In Ameland (1986) we went on an ecological bicycle tour to the nature reserve of the island, in Berlin (1988) a tour of the city helped us to understand the problems of the divided city, and in Poznan (1992) we dealt with the beginnings of an independent Polish history on a one-day excursion. The *public peace party* with official guests from the communities at the end of the workshop contributed to the relations between the participants of the workshop and the host countries or the host communities.

The central contents

The one-week workshops carried out so far took place around a fixed topic which was expanded by current events which, understandably enough, could not have been taken into consideration at the time of planning the workshop.

First International Workshop on Peace Education (Denmark, 1982)

At that time the discussion of the realisation of the *"NATO dual tract decision"* was a current topic which was a main point of explicit reporting in the mass media of the East and West. The aim of the planning of the national work groups consisted of analysing the topic in their respective national media and contributing this material to the workshop. During the workshop the results, which were based on newspapers from Poland, East and West Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark, were presented and their contents were then studied in a comparative analysis. A means of didactic adaptation to show the threat of the new quality of weapons like the SS 20, Cruise Missiles and Pershing 2, was street theatre as described above.

Second International Workshop on Peace Education (Great Britain, 1984)
Since Coventry has – like Berlin – a high percentage of foreign citizens we selected *"Prejudices and Enemy Images towards Minorities"* as our main topic. This subject, which also became a topic in later workshops, was related by the Dutch students to minorities in their own country. The group from Berlin dealt with the problems of integration of the Turkish minority. An exchange of experiences took place during the workshop, when one group visited the minorities living in Coventry (mainly Asians) to find out about their problems. The recognition that the political aim of integration of minorities is not carried out in reality in Great Britain was a common process of learning for the students.

A few British and German female group members, who had participated in actions at Greenham Common before the workshop, suggested a work group dealing with *"Structural Violence Against Women"*. Though there had not been any preparatory work on this topic, the results, in which men were also involved, were well received. One possible reason that this topic had so far only been on the fringe of consideration may have been that men had been mainly involved in the planning of the workshops. The results of our work were documented in the newsletter "Peace Pieces" which was produced daily under the responsibility of students during the evening and night. The documentation of this project is available in Dutch (cf. Stichting Lerarenopleiding Ubbo Emmius, 1986).

Third International Workshop on Peace Education (The Netherlands, 1986)
Though the first workshop in Denmark (1982) was still characterized by the confrontation of political blocs and the intense discussion on the rearmament in Europe, the workshop described here took place under the influence of the prospective INF-treaty. Because of this it was noted attentively in what ways activities on peace education developed between East and West. The participation of a group of Hungarian students for the first time, who had been invited by the teacher training college Ubbo Emmius in Groningen, has to be seen against the background of a cultural agreement which was concluded in the spring of 1986. At that time Berlin (West) had been selected as the meeting place of the fourth international workshop for Dutch and Hungarian students in June 1988. Therefore the theme of the conference *"Methods of Peace Education"* was maintained, though the special interest of the participants of the workshop was directed at problems of peace education in Hungary, still a communist country. A current topic was found in the attack of the United States on Libya, which

was analysed in the national and international press with the focus on "stereotypes in newspapers".

Fourth International Workshop on Peace Education (West Berlin, 1988)
At the third workshop in 1986 students from Eastern countries participated for the first time. This seemed to mark a change in the relationship between East and West. Thus it seemed reasonable to let the following workshop take place in Berlin for geographical and political reasons as Berlin had been a bridge for the relations between East and West in the European postwar era. Prejudices and enemy images of different conciseness collided with an intensity that could be found in few other places. So the topic of the conference resulted from that: *"Prejudices and Enemy Images in East-West Relations"*. The foreign participants – for the first time there were students from the United States – experienced the immediate confrontation between East and West in Berlin, for many of them the first experience of this kind ever. Therefore large parts of the work as well as the conversations were shaped by these impacts. They were also emphasized by the location of the place of the conference, the International Educational Youth Centre "Jagdschloß Glienicke" in Berlin-Wannsee which is located in the vicinity of the Wall and the Glienicke Bridge, named "Bridge of Unity" ("Brücke der Einheit"; in English it is better known as "Bridge of Spies").

Now the Wall is no longer important; developments in Europe in 1989 have made it history. For the participants of that workshop it might be an exciting thought to know that they could now cross over the Glienicke Bridge to Potsdam on a short walk. The projects ("Allied Forces in East- and West-Berlin", "Comparative Schoolbook Analysis on the Berlin Wall", "Daily Papers in East and West in Political Education" etc.) carried out during the workshop have certainly contributed towards the shaping of sensitivity for the manifold problems of the relationship between East and West (cf. Mende & Rathenow, 1990).

Fifth International Workshop on Peace Education (Hungary, 1990)
At the end of August 1989 the executive committee of the workshop met in Budapest. Facing the political change in Eastern Central Europe we decided the main topic of the next workshop, to be held in Zanka on Lake Balaton, would be *"From Confrontation to Cooperation"*. One year later the political and economical situation has confirmed our decision. In September 1989 the first democratic government was established in Poland. Two months

later the "peaceful revolution" took place in the GDR and the Wall between East and West Germany was torn down. Therefore the workshop one year later at which students from East Germany (Germany was reunified on October 3, 1990) participated for the first time was led by the following questions:

1. As old prejudices and images of the enemy in East-West relations have disappeared, we discussed who are "the new enemies"? (This was considered both at a national and international level.)
2. Which problems are attached to the process of the democratic transformation in former communist countries?
3. What role does the new nationalism play and which answers could be provided by multicultural education? (Here aspects of gender education, anti-racist education, anti-sexist education were also concerned.)
4. How could we reinforce the responsibility for our common future by considering the links between disarmament, development, environment and human rights?
5. What role does self-experiential learning in education play for international understanding?

Immediately after the political change in East and Middle Europe the workshop became a suitable means for students and teachers from the Netherlands, Great Britain, the United States and Germany to discuss questions (that had to be left aside at the other workshops) of political everyday life in communism with Polish, Hungarian and East German partners. This was also the case the other way round for the participants from the former Eastern bloc, particularly for students from the former East Germany.

Sixth International Workshop on Peace Education (Poland, 1992)

After the complete collapse of the Communist system in all Eastern European countries and the disintegration of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Rat für gegenseitige Wirtschaftshilfe, RGW) and the Warsaw Pact the workshop was headed *"The Peaceful Process of Integration: Challenges for the Nation-State"*. Poznan/Posen was the obvious place for the conference because of Poland's centuries of relations with the rest of Europe, and particularly for the relations with Germany which had not always been painless for over a thousand years. Another reason for selecting this place was the long-standing good relationship between the Technical University of Berlin and the Adam-Mickiewicz-University Poznan whose students and/or teachers participated

in all the workshops mentioned here except the one in the Netherlands. The political events in the former USSR made it possible for the University of Education at Vilnius (Lithuania) to send representatives for the first time.

The seventh workshop on peace education will be held in Lithuania in September 1994.

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CONFLICT-MITIGATION: PHILOSOPHY AND METHODOLOGY

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Conflict-mitigation is a concept and a methodology which the TFF (Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, Lund, Sweden) has developed to some extent in its projects since September 1991 in former Yugoslavia (Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosovo) which is reported in e.g. *After Yugoslavia – What?* and *Preventing War in Kosovo*.

It emphasizes *a broad societal understanding of the conflicts* obtained mainly through *in-depth interviewing* with many and varied actors. The TFF teams consist of experts in conflict-resolution, international law, Yugoslavia and the Balkans, psychoanalysis, sociology and journalism.

It is intended to serve a number of purposes:

• I First and most importantly, to help ease the process and *enable the parties themselves to solve their own conflicts to the largest extent possible*. Since people "own" their conflicts our task is not to present readymade solutions, but to listen and help them solve their own problems, i.e. playing the role of "conflict doctors" rather than "judges".

We deliberately use the concept of *mitigation rather than solution or mediation*. It signifies a modest indirect approach, producing important elements of an unbiased understanding of and for the parties and providing perspectives, concrete proposals and some tools which can be used by the

parties themselves.

It should be emphasized that this is *down-to-earth empirical field research* rather than simulation, pure theory development or workshop seminars at a comfortable distance. The world is an ongoing laboratory experiment in conflict management and although it is not without danger to visit areas with tense conflicts or even open violence, this is what we feel must also be done by scholars.

Why is it uninvited? To secure that the team is totally independent and unbiased and maintains the freedom to seek interviews with any party in any region. This is particularly relevant in complex conflicts with more than two parties. Furthermore, the sense of being at service – a goodwill mission – is increased and the likelihood increases that various parties will see the teams as a natural Third Party to rely on.

• 2 TFF studies and missions serve *early warning*, *preventive* (citizens) diplomacy, and *multi-track* diplomacy. Representatives of governments and international organizations such as the UN certainly perform a very important function, in many cases of conflict management and peace-keeping.

But they themselves would be the first to admit the limitations: they usually get into a conflict when it has already become "hot" and displayed violence and they cannot obtain a broader societal understanding from all levels or from parties which are not recognized as legitimate actors. Likewise and with the exception of a few recent conflicts, they cannot get access to internal conflicts nor approach the problems without the prior consent of the parties.

NGO experts, independent groups can get access to these parties and provide helpful insights, precisely because they are informal and do not represent any national or international power. They can analyse conflicts, find facts and suggest creative violence-preventive measures at an early stage and they can, in principle, get into any society and start interviewing various actors and feed this into governments, other NGOs, the United Nations and humanitarian organizations.

To quote a high-ranking UN official from a conversation with us: "The UN still cannot deal with a conflict before it hits the front page of the New York Times, but your type of organization can, and we certainly need information directly from the conflict spot."

• **3** Then there is the problem of peace-*making* – negotiations, mediation, confidence-building, from the top (as in Geneva) and from below (a few local activities, but generally not). Our recent field work there makes it abundantly clear that although the UN peacekeepers, UNPROFOR, are in place in Croatia, there are few change agents whose task it is to get the former combatants into a process of reconciliation, structural change and peaceful co-existence.

The UN keeps the peace, but how will future violence be prevented when the peacekeepers have to withdraw? At present there are no local, regional or international efforts which aim at *peace-building* defined as changing the structures and perceptions that lead to war in the first place. On the contrary, Serbia as well as Croatia increasingly seem to view the UN deployment as part of their future politico-military designs – something that has already spilled over into the Bosnia-Hercegovinian war theatre.

Mitigation teams can make a contribution to peace-making precisely because they seek a broader societal understanding and *understand better the peace-making potential of civil society*. Again, conflicts like these belong to all society, not just decision-making elites.

Peacemaking represents a major challenge to the international system in general. The TFF is in the process of producing a report on peacemaking possibilities in Croatia with the help of Unprofor and the international community; it seeks ways to circumvent the present stalemate in the negotiation and reconciliation process there.

• **4** Conflict-mitigation is *an open and open-ended process*. Traditional conflict-resolution experts and mediators work with small selected groups, usually at the top decision-making level. They take them to faraway pleasant surroundings and help them deal with their psychological barriers and successively learn to cooperate and see mutual interests. This is certainly needed but to create lasting results one must devote considerable energy in community reconciliation ("peace from below") and develop coherent strategies for the implementation of high-level "peace plans".

Conflict-mitigation places the analytical results and policy-oriented proposals *at the disposal of everyone in the conflicting society/ies* who wants to listen. We make deliberate use of mass media as well as an ever-expanding network of personal contacts, of course predominantly those we have interviewed.

Next, the reports (or executive summaries of them) are placed at the disposal of the United Nations, fed into the particular bodies that deal with

the situation in this particular country such as various information collecting desks, assistant secretary generals, envoys and relevant UN missions. The reports are also sent out to other international organizations, to embassies, relevant media, humanitarian organizations and to the scholarly community.

Although it may sound very ambitious it is important to *help not only the conflicting parties but also the international community* to understand better the complexities of conflicts and help them avoid the simplifications that much policy making is built on ("We must *do* something to *punish* the *bad* guys"). That will increase the likelihood of avoiding taking steps that are clearly counterproductive from the point of view of peaceful conflict-resolution. The Yugoslav conflicts makes it abundantly clear that such a need exists within the international community.

• **5** Where feasible we work with *drafts or interim reports which the conflicting parties are invited to comment on*. At the same time it is crucial that the team, being unbiased as a non-party to the conflict, present its own creative ways and images of future solutions that polarized parties usually do not see themselves precisely because they are locked into the conflict.

It is our experience that this has a considerable *goodwill-building potential* with all sides in a conflict. If there is one thing people lack in tense situations it is proposals as to how to avoid violence, alternatively how to stop warfare. High-level politicians and many others throughout former Yugoslavia have willingly shared their time and expressed their appreciation of the mission's work.

Although it is impossible to measure, it is our impression that the type of analyses and proposals that we have delivered to various parties have made a positive contribution and, in former Yugoslavia at least, struck a positive note of hope with otherwise war-depressive people.

• **6** If the circumstances and the conflict-mitigation analyses, the reports and the responses so permit, the goodwill character of the mission is likely to lead to an *informal Third Party role*. In the case of Kosovo, the TFF has been invited to (a) develop a set of rules for a future negotiation process, (b) help negotiate a plan for bringing back Albanian children to the schools, (c) help facilitate an informal meeting parallel to the Geneva process and (d) produce a final report on the Kosovo issue based upon the comments and suggestions of about twenty people on both sides.

How to Practise Conflict-Mitigation

Conflict-mitigation starts out from *book knowledge* and obtains a solid understanding of the general background, be it historical, political, economic, psychological or anthropological, through interviewing specialists, journalists or diplomats with expertise concerning the conflicting parties. Books, however, are often outdated in relation to contemporary conflict circumstances, the ways they are acted upon during, let's say, the last 6-12 months. Purely academic studies, further, are less likely to reflect the intensities, human dimensions and everyday qualities of the conflicts.

Before departing, experts in Scandinavia and elsewhere have been approached and their suggestions registered. Next comes the *preliminary contact work*. This is easier than many would believe at the outset. By means of letters and faxes explaining the purpose of the mission, the first contacts will soon respond and through colleagues at universities (who sometimes are also politicians) doors surprisingly quickly will begin to open. Soon a few present themselves as useful *local liaisons* who understand the purpose of the mission and are willing to help it on the spot.

There will always be a "standard list" of personalities that ought to be interviewed such as government officials, party leaders, important persons in culture, arts and sciences etc. They can be approached before departure; the less formal and less conspicuous but highly central figures only emerge after some time on the spot.

Mediators and third-party intervenors usually emphasize the importance of face-to-face communication in the resolution and conciliation stage. However, we emphasize *face-to-face communication already in the analytical stage*. The analyst coming – as in our case – with a totally different background must *listen very carefully at all societal levels to what is being said and how*. Empathy, therefore, is an important quality.

We carry out an *in-depth interview for about one to two hours* (some with tape-recorder, some not) with each – be it an scholar, priest, refugee, opposition leader, popular movement representative, farmer, presidential adviser, military commander, human rights advocate, public official, housewife, pensioned general, taxidriver, dissident, poet or a journalist. Top decision-makers such as ministers or presidential advisers are, naturally, a necessity for a comprehensive analysis. In former Yugoslavia we have now interviewed about 700 individuals at all levels and walks of life. However, the point is that conflicts should not be analysed as if they

belonged only to those in power and solutions should not be explored that only reflect their views.

We are sometimes asked: What is your general methodology? What is your sampling method? When field work is carried out in war zones or in a country in – or close to – warfare, *the methodology becomes rather much determined by the circumstances*. To maintain anything else would be untruthful. We use our background knowledge, the liaisons and scholarly colleagues in the country to identify the first set of interviewees; there is a number of persons with whom it is always important to speak and with whom no local facilitators or hosts are needed such as e.g. local newspaper editors, colleagues to the team members, respected national figures retired from politics, leading political party spokespersons etc.

We deal with various circles and liaisons, not just one, in order to ensure that a broader section of actors and opinions are presented to us. It is imperative that *the local liaison(s)* of the team cannot be identified with one conflict party or any particular interest group. An independent intellectual, a research institute, or an NGO can perform in that role. It must understand fully the idea of mitigation and help identify the broad variety of persons the team shall meet, be reliable, committed, willing to work for the team at odd hours, good at arranging meetings and keep a dairy. Preferably the person(s) should also have a good ability to listen, and interpret interviewees. It will also be this person or group that helps the team to make practical arrangements in what is often difficult circumstances.

Experience tells that the first steps are the most difficult; but the more you have interviewed, the more are willing to be interviewed. In a sense, *the process snowballs* by itself. It is wise at the end of a conversation to always ask the question: who would you recommend us to talk to, on your side and from the opposition/the other conflicting side? It is absolutely necessary to be flexible – getting access to concrete individuals depends on their physical presence, time and willingness. One should not ignore the fact that sometimes it yields more useful information to interview a deputy chairman of a political party than the chairman; the first may have more time and dare reveal, for instance, that there are fractions in that party. Also, meeting under less formal circumstances, for instance having lunch together at a café, is often more productive than meeting in an office.

One absolutely essential *precondition to get people accept an interview and feel relaxed* is to get through – orally, in writing or both – to the person with five messages: What is the TFF? What is the team's purpose?

Why is the interviewee essential? What will be the focus of the talk? What will come out of it – e.g. a report? Short professional letters, brochures and the like are the sine qua non of reaching busy people.

We deliberately take for granted during the interview sessions that the person, simply put, prefers peace to war – knowing well, of course, that that is not always the case. *One set of standard questions revolve around the issue: What do you see as possible solutions?* Like many others we have experienced that the majority of actors look only at yesterday and today but seem incapable of looking at tomorrow and almost all conflicting parties are more willing to talk about "the other" than about themselves and think negatively rather than constructively. Thus, conflicts are locked or frozen rather than opened and solved.

The interview situation itself is structured *to invite the persons to reflect on alternative ways of acting and identifying common longterm interest*. We therefore always ask questions such as: What would you on your side have done differently when today you look back upon the process that lead to the present conflict/war? and How do you think the other side(s) perceive(s) your behaviour? or What should a proposal from the other contain for you to react constructively on it? And: You have now stated your goals in this conflict; what is your strategy to achieve them?

In some cases it has turned out to be possible *to get close to the personality of the interviewee*. With high-ranking decision-makers it is useful to explore what shaped personal values and perceptions, e.g. how a particular feeling of guilt or hate has taken roots and when and why he or she decided to join politics.

Obviously, we guarantee all interviewed parties *anonymity*; their views will not be presented in a manner making it possible to refer them to any particular actor, but they will be integrated into the analyses.

The TFF conflict-mitigation *team does not arrive with any pre-conceived idea* as to what could or should be the solution. There is no "model" only a general methodology, a considerable background knowledge and the combination of the team's competences.

Apart from these types of interviewees we attempt *to understand civil society*. After all, it is the citizens who must learn to live with conflicts or solutions. Whereas much conflict mediation remains political, we try to assess what role features such as energy, infrastructure, economic development, transport, education or the media play in the conflict and for the process of change towards settlement.

It must be emphasized – repeatedly – that *individual citizens and groups*,

movements and various organizations do have creative ideas (although perhaps considered 'unrealistic' by formal decision-makers) and they are usually not influenced by the option of taking to violence and repression as are for instance, implicitly, government representatives. Neither do they have the same personal power invested. We hope to catch this energy because we interview a broad selection.

The interviews and sometimes conversations with our team can serve as a first eye-opener, a catalyst to the interviewee. The method used permits each of them to recognize something about him- or herself and since a mitigation effort like this will almost always be looked upon as a *goodwill* mission the conflicting parties will take a serious look at the proposals we present later in reports and discuss them with us.

Immediately upon return, the materials are *analysed and systematized*. We produce a report and sometimes an *interim report* and/or an *executive summary* of just 5 pages or so that reaches key decision-makers for instance in the UN system. In the case of Kosovo the TFF has worked with groups of scholars, politicians and media people on both sides who were asked to give their views on an interim report.

The reports will offer three things: analyses of the conflicts, a series of short- and long-term proposals and a manual of conflict-resolution principles and tools, adapted to the particular actors.

Our mission will not re-write the official history or background to the conflict but, rather, bring together the human expressions of all these different people's perceptions and participation in conflicts, *their* conflicts. Conflicts do not exist independent of human beings and they do *not* exist only between them but also *within* human beings. It is extremely important, therefore, to let interviewees speak about their own lives as they relate to the conflicts.

Such features are spelled out in the report that will also reflect the multitude of opinions and approaches. By means of anonymous quotations and descriptions of attitudes *it will communicate important facts to all concerned that have not or could not be articulated. It serves, thus, as a neutral messenger between parties who perhaps have no contacts but basically speak bad about each other.*

Dissemination of the report through the media in the conflict area is of particular importance. In Yugoslavia we did this through the international press centre, and direct contacts with journalists and columnists of leading dailies, radio and TV stations. Our experience is that this has a positive effect on the preparedness and attention of citizens as well as high-ranking

decision-makers to deal *constructively* with resolution and not just articulating their grievances. This applies to the early stages of the mission's work in a conflict area and serves also the purpose of making the mission known locally. In later stages, however, where direct consulting, mitigation or mediation possibilities, mass media attention is almost always directly counterproductive.

To offer an example, our report which has also been translated to Serbo-Croatic suggested the deployment of UN troops as buffers around the Serbian majority areas in Croatia at a time (October 1991) when the international community was of the opinion that the United Nations still could not be engaged in what was considered internal affairs of a member state and neither Serbia nor Croatia would accept the UN. We have no concrete evidence that the report influenced high-level decision-makers, but after our presentation of the report in both republics both parties began to advocate UN deployment.

Presentation of the report in involved countries and to relevant international organizations is another very important task. TFF reports on Yugoslavia reach selected members of the diplomatic community and mediators in the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) and the UN; they reach various media in Yugoslavia and the Nordic countries. Likewise, they get to humanitarian agencies and conflict-resolution specialists and networks. We have found it particularly important to help educate the general public in order to balance media reporting which often focusses on war and violence rather than on possibilities for resolution and longterm peace and stability. Thus, 3-4000 reports and books have been sold and distributed over the last couple of years.

To secure that the results are made available to anyone concerned the *report must be written and presented in a way that can reach a broad audience*. Also it must have an executive summary directed at busy decision-makers and media people. However, because it also contains a larger analysis and some conflict-resolution tools it *permits decision-makers or others to seek our expertise* for direct third-party mediation, participation in conflict-resolution seminars or whatever, should they so wish.

Because of the TFF's work in former Yugoslavia, we have been asked by various actors in several of the republics/states such as parties, research institutes, popular movements and others to participate with lectures, to serve as advisers for the establishment of an inter-ethnic study centre, to set up workshops on reconciliation, to participate in an international NGO

project for peace etc. TFF has served as an informal Third Party between the federal government of Milan Panic in Belgrade and the leadership in Kosovo and is an informal adviser to the Kosovo-Albanian leadership. During 1993 it has devoted its resources to the conflict between Croats and Serbs in Crotia and the role of the United Nations, engaging also in shuttle diplomacy and planning of mediation/consultations between the parties.

The *ideal conflict-mitigation team* consists of one who is a scholarly expert in the country or region, one psychologist, one conflict-resolution expert, one international lawyer, one retired diplomat, a writer or journalist, an assistant-cum-interpreter, i.e., seven persons, perhaps supplemented with special expertise relevant for the particular circumstances.

Since it can sometimes be difficult for practical and budgetary reasons to put together such an ideal team it is possible to carry through the field trip with only parts of the group if the planning is excellent, competence and knowledge shared effectively and *all* the team members contribute to the writing of the report.

What Can It Lead To?

TFF perceives this activity as part of a larger commitment. This is the stages we work with:

- literature studies and reliance on other experts;
- interviews and analysis
- dialogue and conversation over time with key individuals, leading to:
- confidence-building with each actor
- within the system as a whole
- discussion of alternatives to the use of violence
- smaller tasks, such as carrying messages between certain parties
- advisory tasks, developing concepts and principles to be used by the parties
- shuttle diplomacy, sounding out positions and reporting them fairly to all
- indirect dialogues through third parties
- presenting parties to a conflict with a mitigation agenda and principles
- getting selected parties into a direct dialogue/mediation around the same table
- helping them through implementation upon returning
- educating people themselves through courses and workshops to handle their own conflicts towards peace-building

- getting out at the right time.

This is what can be done with the parties, on the spot. Below follows some other tasks to be performed vis-a-vis other actors:

- analysing what other conflict-mitigators/mediators do and develop alternatives and niches they do not cover;
- informing various UN bodies and, in this case, the Geneva negotiators;
- informing media, humanitarian organizations, popular movements etc.;
- informing the scholarly and more action-oriented community;
- influencing public opinion and decision-makers in our own countries;
- assisting those who handle the consequences of the conflicts here – such as immigration authorities, local community, and others (such as journalists) who seek information about the trouble spot.

Conflict-Mitigation Principles

We believe that conflict-resolution and -mitigation is a craft as well as an art. The principles we adhere to in our own work and try to help others learn are, among others:

- Conflict-mitigation means helping others solve their problems, not imposing our solutions.
- Conflicts in and of themselves are *positive*, a precondition for pluralism, growth and freedom of the mind. Only some ways we choose to handle conflicts are bad.
- It is more important to determine *what* a conflict is about than who is *the guilty*. Even if the spotted guilty disappeared, the *problem* would often still be there. Chasing the guilty means revenge or tit-for-tat and propels actors further away from a solution.
- It is necessary to get to the roots of the conflict and let off steam. But only *constructive* views of a common future – not quarrels about the past – inspire viable solutions.
- To solve a conflict, the parties must *perceive* it in new ways, *think* in new ways and *start acting* in new ways. Verbal commitment is not enough.
- Identifying *interests* is more important than locking oneself up in a position.
- Keeping *alternatives* open is a safe way. Blocking communicating and stereotyping others is a recipe for locking the conflict.

- Procedures, negotiations and the solutions must be based on objective standards applying to all sides.
- There is usually your truth, their truth and *a larger truth* – and people know it.
- *Means* are goals-in-the-making. Good goals cannot be achieved through bad means.
- There is our side and their side and the *relationship*. Taking steps to harm or humiliate the other is counterproductive and not in our interest. Taking steps that help us and don't harm the relationship is wiser.
- It is wise to develop *one's own strategy*, stick to it and propagate it, inviting the other to do the same. Just reciprocating or re-acting to the other is dangerous. Imitating the wrongdoer makes our deeds wrong. An eye-for-an-eye will one day make the whole world blind.
- Conflicts not only split people, they also unite them. Opponents may disagree on everything, but they share the judgment that what their conflict is about is important to them. *That is the key to peace:* recognizing that there is a common problem to be solved. Peace and conflict-resolution, therefore, does not imply that we give in and act as nice guys or girls, or accept being bullied around by the tough ones.
- *Power* is not to punish or kill, but to achieve one's own goals together with others, without harming them and without hindering them from realizing theirs.
- *Violence* – be it physical, psychological, direct or built into a system – is a proof of incompetence and powerlessness in the face of conflicts. Violence never solves a conflict; it breeds aggression and violence. Problems solved by violence always reappear later.
- To *solve* a conflict implies voluntary agreement on how to achieve a future better for each and the relationship. A good solution does not appoint a winner and a loser. It transforms the issue, the perceptions, attitudes and the behaviour of the parties.
- A good solution can also consist in *agreeing to disagree* and why and separate from each other in a civilized manner, minimizing pain on all sides.
- *Mitigators do not take sides among parties*, like a doctor does not scold a disease carrier or patient. Mitigators are "conflict doctors" who help the patients to recover from the disease and prevent relapses. Mitigation is urgent care and prevention in one. We take a stand against violence and other kinds of ineffective attempts to solve conflicts.

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